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Language and Identity Management Across Media
A Communities of Practice Study of a Greek-Cypriot Student Society in Britain

Christodoulou, Valentina

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**Language and Identity Management Across
Media: A Communities of Practice Study of
a Greek-Cypriot Student Society in Britain**

Thesis Submitted for the Fulfilment
of PhD in
Hellenic Studies

Valentina Christodoulou
September 2012

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**To my parents,
Nikos and Pistoula**

I hereby declare that the work in this thesis is that of the candidate alone.

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Abstract:

This work focuses on identity management across media by focusing on a Greek-Cypriot student Society in London. By employing a Communities of Practice framework which focuses on engagement in social practice, the present work deals with issues of community making processes across media as well as the ways in which member positions and relations vis-à-vis the Society have an impact on communication practices and identity construction. Questions underlying such analysis are:

- A. In what ways do participation and engagement inform identity articulations related to community membership?
- B. In what ways are community, identities and relations negotiated over time and across media and how do these processes shape communication choices?

The data were collected from multiple sites of engagement ranging from face to face recordings, e-mails, diaries, interviews, Facebook threads and the Society's website.

The analysis showed that in community making the use of e-mails and Facebook posts reproduce the development of the Society's practices and social links among members. With regards to choices of communication mediums it was found that in member relationships characterized by emotional closeness, face-to-face and mobile communication was privileged while e-mail communication was the preferable communication mode in Society-related business. Analysis of e-mail communication among Committee members indicated that through status moves in interaction members are able to orient to particular membership identities and role-dependent activities, while issues of legitimacy to claim arose in the negotiation of past and present (Committee and ex-Committee) positions in the Society. Peripheral membership identities appeared to be the result of weakened relations of mutual engagement. Additionally, preference for Greek text in emails was found to be a way of enhancing in-group membership by aligning language choice with the assumed identities of the members. Greek language (and most importantly Cypriot Greek) - as the readily available resource of the Greek Cypriot members – appeared to be a defining factor in legitimating Greek-Cypriot members as well as the power to marginalize the British Cypriot members ('Charlies'). Ethnically-related resources such as language become tools through which relations of mutual engagement can either be strengthened, or lack mutuality.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

The extensive preoccupation with identity and language analysis noted in academia can be explained if one considers that language forms a primary medium through which people construct their social lives (Kramsch, 1998). Language, therefore, both code and content, can be regarded as a complicated blend of internal and external interpretations of our identity (Gibson, 2004). Although the definition and analysis of the notion of identity has become an issue of increased theoretical debate, it will be applied here to indicate the way in which an individual sees himself or herself; that is, ‘who we think we are’, and the ways others see ourselves; ‘what others think we are’. The question is, how does this become possible through language use? It is suggested that a speaker makes linguistic choices that allow themselves to not only express but also to create a representation of him or her in relation to others with whom they are interacting (Sterling, 2000). Namely, individuals and groups have the ability to build and project images of themselves, in addition to the ability to perceive projected images of others within a conversational interaction. It cannot be taken for granted, though, that social identity is something fixed that one possesses. Instead, it should be taken into consideration that each individual has a ‘repertoire of social identities’ with each identity being locally formed, according to the practice-interaction at hand.

Such theoretical assumptions have turned into the stimulation for the present project. More specifically, the aim of this research is to investigate the ways in which a group of students come to negotiate identity, the latter being either discursive or social, through the use of linguistic devices across different new communication media. Emphasis is placed on the recurrent use of language practices, the ways in which these practices function as participants’ means of orienting to particular identities relevant to the interaction at hand. Such questions can be retired through the analysis of the communicative practices of HEI University of London Cypriot Society.

The Cypriot Society is an official community formed by male and female individuals of Greek-Cypriot origin, aged 18-28, who are currently undergraduate or

postgraduate students at HEI University of London. Besides the Society's engagement in the organisation of various meetings and events for its members, the Society also operates an official website (www.heicysoc.com) as well as a group named after it in an online application, Facebook. The group is analysed within the context of 'communities of practice' (see section 2.4), a term which describes the sum of people pursuing a shared goal, learning efficient ways of pursuit through regular interaction. A central element within such a community is language, which as previously stated is the medium that allows for the construction and communication of one's personal, social and collective identity.

Having these in mind, the question is then how these three notions - language, identity and communities of practice – are interconnected in actual everyday offline and online interaction. Working along the lines of linguistic ethnography (see Chapter 3), data collected for the Internet, through participant observation and engagement, involves Facebook threads as well as Society e-mails sent to members, and e-mail exchanges among committee members. Also, naturally occurring conversations were recorded in addition to recordings of interviews conducted with ten of the Society's members.

Interaction analysis is the analytical framework employed for the processing of data. More precisely, I have employed discourse analytic tools from Conversation Analysis, Membership Categorisation Analysis and Computer Mediated Discourse Analysis. Interaction analysis provides the necessary tools for the uncovering of the ways in which language enables and affects identity construction in naturally occurring conversations, as its main point of entry is that "whatever aspects of participant identity are relevant to the production, ascription, interpretation and negotiation of a particular utterance have to be revealed in locally situated interactive activities" (Schiffrin, 1994a:411).

1.1 Aims and Research Questions

Studies of language use in new media and identity construction have a long history in sociolinguistic research with the focus being shifted away from technological contexts to more socially-focused contexts (Kim *et al.*, 2007). Earlier work has favoured a deterministic and dichotomous analysis of synchronous and asynchronous CMC with increased focus on the spoken and written features of the medium (cf. Baron, 1998; Crystal, 2001). Undoubtedly, there is now a great bulk of work offering insight into community linguistic behaviour in online and offline communication, ranging from studies based on social identities (cf. Herring, 2000; Androutsopoulos, 2006b), on the ways in which technological and social properties of CMC are associated with virtual communities, as well as studies focusing on social networking in CMC sites (cf. Baym, 1998; Cherny, 1999). However, the ways in which social categories and social relations combine and coarticulate in complex ways in different media are under-represented in CMC research (Herring, 2008, Androutsopoulos 2008); this very fact calls for analyses into the ways in which communities engage in interactional activity in different sites of media, such as face-to-face interactions and computer-mediated communication, and the ways in which such activities are related to a community's practices and social relationships. Additionally, if one considers the increased utilisation of mediated communication in community formation and building, as well as its ability to spawn new varieties of discourse that call out for analysis, it appears that in conducting the particular research, one is presented with a rich opportunity for the study of the emergence of language practices, norms and social behaviours of a community across media, as expressed through discourse. Generally speaking, the ultimate aims of this type of investigation are to:

- Provide an additional contribution to the sociolinguistic field by complementing existing literature on identity construction, language and new media.
- Examine the ways in which positions, membership identities and relations between members of a Community of Practice are negotiated across media.
- Advance our understanding of computer-mediated communication through the analysis of interpersonal relationships within a Community of Practice, and the ways in which they inform members' medium and language choices.

- Provide an analysis within the CoP framework of how identity negotiation occurs across media through a focus on the interactional practices of a particular student society.

The group under investigation for the analysis of identity management across media is an HEI Society formed by university students of Cypriot origin. My choice of this particular group was due to pragmatic issues such as direct access to data and cultural familiarity. Most importantly however, a mixed group of UK national Greek-Cypriots and non UK national Greek-Cypriots identifying individuals with varied linguistic histories with regard to the use of Greek language - including both regional and diaspora variations – as well as mixed academic and cultural backgrounds provides a rich yet constrained research and analytical context. It provides fruitful grounds for the analysis of the construction of group membership and practices and at the same time it provides a context for an analysis of localised identity orientations.

Having specified the aims and background underpinning such research, it is necessary to highlight the specific issues that this work seeks to account for. This study addresses the following questions:

1. In what ways do participation and engagement inform identity articulations related to community membership?
 - a) In what ways is the construction and negotiation of membership identities influenced by relations of mutual engagement?
 - b) How are linguistic devices systematically used to make relevant identities in member interactions?
 - c) How are such articulations related to Society related roles and identities?
 - d) How are linguistic resources used to construct ethnically based categorisations?
 - e) In what ways are these categorisations shaped by membership and participation?
2. In what ways are community, identities and relations negotiated over time and across media and how do these shape communication choices?
 - a) What is the process of community-making of this community of practice and how is mediation employed in such process?

- b) How are identities and relations between the members of this community of practice occasioned and negotiated over time, within and across different media of interactional activity?
- c) What choices of communication mediums do members employ?
- d) How are these related to member relations and/or Society-related businesses?

And generally:

- Are there any recurrent linguistic devices used by the members of the Greek-Cypriot student Society?
- What is their function and how does their use allow for the management of identity across media?

Overall, such a cross-media analytical work, grounded in the CoP framework provides useful insights into the ways in which identity construction and negotiation operates within a community's language practices, norms and social behaviour across mediums of communication.

1.2 Overview of the thesis chapters

This section of the chapter provides an overview of thesis organisation and a descriptive summary of the analytical chapters.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In Chapter 2 the literature background is established through a discussion of several approaches to the study of identity and language. Special emphasis is placed on the CoP framework which forms the theoretical baseline adopted for the study of the Greek-Cypriot student Society.

Chapter 3: Data Design and Methodology

In this Chapter, a general description of the Society under study is provided with special reference to the stages of its development and the members' linguistic

repertoire. The analytical methods employed in this study are delineated. A large section of this chapter focuses on describing the data collected with reference to the research questions that these help answer. A detailed description of the focal participants is provided. Additionally, a description of the data collection throughout the different stages of the process is provided. Finally, the chapter includes a reflective account of the researcher's role in the collection and analysis of data.

Chapter 4: Community-making processes across time and space: developing practices and member links

Chapter four establishes the Society's structural elements through the thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews conducted, bringing to the fore participant perceptions of community bonds. The Society's stages of development are discussed through the quantitative analysis of e-mails. E-mails are also analysed in terms of topics, language routines and structure, such as greetings and closings, and language choice both in the main body of the message and subject headings. Additionally, in emphasising the cross-media communication in Society practices' formation, the mediation involved in organising one of the Society's events is recreated. Finally, Facebook threads were analysed with a focus on intimacy markers, pronoun use and teasing practices in emphasising the development of member bonds.

Chapter 5: Society-related and interpersonal communication: choice of mediums and patterns of use

This chapter deals with the ways in which members' relations influence the choice of communication mediums. In detail, diary references to media uses were coded into categories involving everyday media uses and uses with friends and intimates. Facebook post exchanges were also coded in two main categories that have emerged from the social network analysis: the category of friends and intimates and the category of socially distant relations. The categorisation allowed for the analysis of transactional content between such groups and the extent to which it reflected members' offline relationships. Additionally, e-mail, as the most preferable means for Society-related business - this emerged from the participants' diaries - was

analysed in terms of the affordances it provides to committee members in conducting institutional business.

Chapter 6: Relations of mutual engagement: Constructing membership identities through forms of participation

The focus in this chapter lies on the ways in which particular membership identities are enabled through forms of participation. The chapter begins with two case studies that reflect the process of apprenticeship into the Society, indicating how membership identities shift depending on the degrees of engagement in practice. Committee members' status moves in interaction were looked into in terms of linguistic devices, such as the use of person references (inclusive and exclusive 'we'), imperatives, and role-dependent activities and categorisations. The investigation of mutual engagement as a resource in claiming membership brought issues of control over negotiation of Society-related positions to the fore, as well as issues of legitimacy. A case of peripheral membership is presented in highlighting non-participation in Society events resulting in weakened relations of mutual engagement with other Society members.

Chapter 7: Joint enterprise: the role of Greek-Cypriot identity in the process of shaping practices and membership.

The final chapter of this thesis deals with the ways in which the Society's ethnically-related character shapes language use, practices, relations and membership in the Society. In detail, particular attention is paid to linguistic repertoires employed in Society e-mails in investigating the extent to which language choices can be aligned with the assumed identities of the members. The analysis also focuses on linguistic resources used to construct ethnically-based categorisations and the ways in which these categorisations are shaped by membership and participation. Finally, a focus is placed on members' linguistic repertoire and how such resources can be drawn upon to construct relations of association with and differentiation from particular identities.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

A summary of the key findings is presented. There is a discussion of the findings in relation to the research questions, aims and objectives of the research, as well as in relation to previous literature. Finally, implications for further research are suggested.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 A Focus on Identities

Scholarly preoccupation with identity theorising can be traced back to the Enlightenment period, where the prevailing ideology around the self – influenced by the work of Descartes and Locke – was connected to empiricism and rationality. The individual was considered to be a “self-sufficient subject of action endowed with instrumental rationality” (Gil, 2000, cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:19). During the first half of the nineteenth century, questions of identity are refocused, placing the individual self as a manifestation of something innate, which is however based on sensibility, morality and feeling rather than cognition (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:19). In the early 20th century, influential work by Freud and Lacan, who emphasised the internal workings of subjectivity as well as socialisation processes as a way to acquire a shared system of discourse, has led prevailing ideology to view the individual mind as a defining feature of identity (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:29). Furthermore, 20th century late modernity identifies the subject as “an over-socialised self, which nonetheless has internalized its own conformity” (Woodard 2002, cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:21).

Sociological accounts of identity are mainly concerned with collective identities as opposed to individual identity formation. Examples of such sociological accounts are Social Identity Theory (SIT) and its more cognitive derivative, Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT), developed by Tajfel and Turner in the tradition of social (cognitive) psychology (Widdicombe, 2006:193). These approaches assume that social identity is defined by individual identification with a group, a process whereby the individual is characterised by a reflexive knowledge of their membership in addition to some emotional attachment or value significance to this belonging (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:25). Social categories are characterised as aspects of the self-concept, and hence identity has a real psychological existence; it is an intrinsic and relatively stable aspect of the self-concept (Widdicombe, 2006:193). Such a view of identity has been heavily criticised by other approaches, due to the fact that it treats identity as a cognitive pre-discursive phenomenon (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006).

Contrary to SCT and SIT, the perspective that the social world can be seen as a set of social practices comes from Marxism, which was founded, among others, on the notion of praxis (Bucholtz, 1999:203). Theory of practice can be seen as “a way out of the impasse created by social structure, on the one hand, and personal agency, on the other” (Bucholtz, 1999:205). In detail, human agency and social structure are not considered to be two separate constructs, but rather two ways of considering social action. In Giddens’ development of structuration theory the basic approach to social action is that of “praxis, regular patterns of enacted conduct by active actors who interact with each other in situations in habitual, reflexive, reflective, and more conscious ways” (Gingrich, 2000). Considering the emphasis of the theory of praxis on social activity, it soon became evident that language should be considered as a central object of social analysis (Bucholtz, 1999).

A contemporary approach which emerges from practice theory – and that which is adopted in this project - is that of Communities of Practice (CoP¹). This approach emerged in the 1990s in the work of Lave and Wenger, who coined the term. This approach explores inter-group relations and communication networks, challenging the essential and unified quality of group categories while at the same time acknowledging that social beings have shared experiences in their community’s local context of social practice (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:27). Within such a theoretical framework, identity is analysed through processes of social practice and talk as through regular interaction, which Wenger terms as ‘mutual engagement’: people usually have a common endeavour (‘joint enterprise’) which in extent leads to the development of a ‘shared repertoire’ of routine, style and language resources, through which members express their group identity (Barton and Tusting, 2005:2). The analysis of identity issues from such a perspective allows for the exploration of social meaning-making in language, through which people construct identities. I believe that the adaptation of this particular approach to identity gives access to an analysis of the ways in which engaging in both sites of communication (face-to-face interactions and CMC) and the degrees to which this occurs can be linked to identity construction. In other words, the emphasis on the practices afforded by the CoP framework to achieve a common goal allows the researcher to uncover step-by-step how these practices, involvement in such and their formation and reformation over time bear on

¹ The acronym CoP stands for the Theory of “Communities of Practice”.

the communication and interaction of identity and group membership in a particular group. Hence, due to the importance of this kind of theoretical framework I will return to it in some detail later (see section 2.4).

2.2 Sociolinguistic Approaches to Identity

Research on identity and language could not but receive increased interest within the field of sociolinguistics. Recent understandings of the issue of identity have shifted towards a socially-influenced notion of identity. One of the leading approaches – and one that this study endorses - is social constructionism, which takes a critical stance towards the taken-for-granted knowledge and regards identity as neither a given nor a product, directing attention to social action rather than psychological processes of the individual mind. Social constructionism regards identity as a process that results from other processes such as negotiation; it involves discursive work, and as a process identity is thought to generate various or even collections of identities and is not limited to fixed, individual constructs (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006:2). In general, studies following this line of reasoning have emphasised the concept of social practices to processes of identity construction as well as the importance of language in such processes (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006:2).

Variationist sociolinguistics has evolved over the last four decades as a discipline that integrates social and linguistic aspects of language; that is, it analyses linguistic structures in accordance with social structure (Tagliamonte, 2006). Labov founded this strand of sociolinguistic study in his study of the social stratification of (r) in New York City department stores. A main characteristic of work within this tradition is long-term ethnographic work and participant observation, through which researchers aim to “chart out the distinction of linguistic variables such as accent and syntactic patterns, across a population and attempt to identify patterns of correlation with social factors such as sex, age, social class and group identification” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:26). In general, variationist sociolinguistics lays emphasis on four key concepts: the ‘vernacular’ (everyday speech), the ‘speech community’, the ‘form/function asymmetry’ and linguistic variables (Tagliamonte, 2006: 7-11). It is important to note the fact that identity in this respect is taken to be a “pre-discursive construct that

correlates with, or even causes particular language behaviour” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:26).

Sharing a similar understanding of identity with SIT, variationist sociolinguistics deems the relationship of linguistic variables and social identity to be causal. One should note however that the distribution of linguistic variables does not necessarily define social identity merely on the grounds that such distribution stems from those to whom a social label may be conveniently attached (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:27). Seeking to define the social identity of the people forming the student society under study on the basis of linguistic variables would fail to address the goals of my research. To be more precise, notions such as the vernacular and speech community would be insufficient terms of community description for the present research, since a) the Society’s population is highly transitory, resulting in constant change in terms of social reformation, and is therefore difficult to describe in terms of speech communities that highlight community boundaries, b) degrees of membership across media do not necessarily depend on particular social identities, and more importantly, c) linguistic devices employed by members of the Society to construct identity in social practice are considered here to be motivated and negotiated according to the interactions at hand, both in CMC and peer-to-peer communication.

One of the few exceptions in variationist research that adopts a practice-based perspective is Eckert’s study of Belten High which provides a rich analysis into the ways in which two communities of practice, the ‘jocks’ and ‘burnouts’, associate local meanings with linguistic style (Eckert, 2000:2; Rampton, 2003). Style variation is seen as social practice, the speaker as a linguistic agent and community as mutually-engaged in meaning making process (Eckert, 2000:4). While the study appears to be ethnographically grounded and adopting an agent- and practice-based focus, the quantitative descriptions of language data lead to descriptions of language as a reflection of social being; in other words such language descriptions are much less sensitive to the ways in which social categories can operate as locally activated categories in particular moments of interactional engagement (Rampton, 2003, 45).

The concept of identity as a process of entailing discursive work is successfully grasped in Zimmerman’s study on emergency service calls. Taking on a conversational analytic approach Zimmerman treats identity as an element of context for talk-in-interaction and argues that oriented-to identities form the prime link between the locally situated encounter and the encompassing social order

(Zimmerman, 2006:88). Through the analysis of routine features of emergency calls he shows both the ways in which identities (both situated and discursive) are articulated and aligned in shaping the activity under way and the ways in which conversational organization becomes a resource for engaging in action (Zimmerman: , 2006:105).

The sociolinguistic study of language and identity is also approached within the frame of Critical Discourse Analysis. Within such an approach contexts that are relevant for the expression and negotiation of identities are considered to be much wider and identities are taken to be produced and imposed upon individuals and groups through dominant ideologies and discourse practices (De Fina, Schiffrrin and Bamberg, 2006:5). Studies endorsing such analytical approach more often than not deal with political and institutional discourse, gender and racism (cf. Fairclough, 2001). Although the study does not endorse the view of identity as a mere product of dominant ideologies and discourses, the issue of ideology and it's relation to language choice and social difference is elaborated upon in the analysis of nationalist ideologies shaping the members' and the Society's sense of self (see section 7.5).

Another approach in identity studies within sociolinguistics is Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) deriving from Sack's early studies of the organisation of conversation (Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995). MCA focuses on the analysis of situated and reflexive use of categories in everyday talk, institutional interactions, media and other textual data (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:38). This approach renders the use of 'membership categorisation devices' (collections of membership categories – e.g. family) which people use as inferential resources for identifying and describing people (Antaki and Widdicombe, 2006). The use of categories is thought to be linked to particular actions and characteristics, as category membership implies “culturally available resources in our language for the identification and description of persons, which allow us to make reference to other people or to ourselves” (Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1998:69). The prevailing ideology within this perspective is that the construction of identity is closely linked to the classification of categories for inclusion or exclusion of the self and other, as well as to the identification of such categories with typical activities and routines (De Fina, Schiffrrin and Bamberg, 2006:3). In practice, MCA is used to locate central categories of people/ places /things that members (interlocutors) employ in organising knowledge, carrying out their activities in and through talk, and in assigning social identities. On the whole,

members' categories might be explicitly stated or tacitly oriented to by category-bound or category-implied activities" (Sacks 1995:300).

Widdicombe and Wooffitt's (1995) study on the language of youth sub-cultures highlights the ways in which social categories and category based activities can be occasioned, invoked and made relevant in affiliating with or resisting category membership. The employment of insertion sequences and re-characterisation of the business at hand allowed respondents to undermine the inferred criterial relevance of sub-cultural identity while at the same time emphasizing the issue of agency and motivation (Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995). Generally speaking, the study emphasizes the ways in which identity is woven into the social structures of interaction as variable and context-specific (Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995).

Overall, group membership and social identity are seen as crucial aspects of membership categorisation; due to the fact that reference to an individual's social identity also involves reference to their membership in a particular category, this provides legitimate grounds for attributing certain characteristics related to that very category (Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995:70). Membership identities are of great importance in my work with regards to the analysis of language choice and its relation to ethnic identity (section see 7.3) and therefore MCA will inform the analysis of interactional data through the use of category-bound identifications and activities. Yet, the MCA approach was not employed as a main tool of analysis, as the focal inquiries in my work, such as forms of membership, member relations and choices of communication mediums cannot be fully grasped through the attributions of certain category activities and characteristics (i.e. activities dependent on Society' committee positions, see chapter 6); such issues were shown to be influenced by issues the types of social relationships which in extent shaped participation in Society practices and choices/patterns of communication (see chapter 5).

An approach that studies talk in interaction and on which this study largely draws, is Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS). Work within this approach has been greatly influenced by the work of Gumperz and Goffman, who highlighted the importance of situated meaning in language use. Interactional Sociolinguistics considers discourse to be a form of social interaction in which the emergent construction and negotiation of meaning is facilitated by the use of language (Schiffrin, 1994a:134). IS focuses on interactional exchanges, through which it aims to show how participants in such exchanges use talk to achieve their communicative goals in real-life situations, by

directing attention to the meaning-making processes and the taken-for-granted background assumptions that underlie the negotiation of shared interpretations (Gumperz, 1999: 454). IS micro-discourse analysis examines the act-by-act unfolding of situated interactions to the point “where participants have a grasp, if only tacit, of the specific contextual moments in which they should act and of how various possible courses of action will fulfil or disappoint the constitutive expectancies attached to those moments”, revealing in extent how identities can be reproduced, negotiated or contested (Heritage, 1987, cited in Rampton, 2001:97). Brown and Yule hold that in interpreting the language that individuals encounter they must make some sort of utilisation of their knowledge of the world and past experience of similar events (Brown and Yule, 2004:61). Background knowledge and past experience of events not only equips interlocutors with expectations and hypotheses about what are likely to be relevant aspects of contexts, but also provides them with the ability to judge what the purpose of an utterance might be (Brown and Yule, 2004:61). It can be understood, then, that in order to provide a fruitful analysis of interpersonal and intergroup interactions a researcher should take into serious consideration the role of situation and knowledge, as these two concepts define and are defined by the discourse activity or specific interaction at hand. As Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2004:18) state, “situation includes the immediate setting and behaviour or the broader, surrounding culture, including the norms of discourse choices and socio-cultural processes invoked by the text”. On the other hand, the notion of knowledge indicates the “general background information of text-recipients”, as well as the “specific knowledge of the actual social circumstances in which the text is produced” (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, 2004:18). In other words, people’s general expectations about situations and activities are adjusted to the particular circumstances in which a text appears, to “the ‘here’ and ‘now’ of a text” (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, 2004:18). An interactionally-based sociolinguistic analysis is employed in this research as it bridges the gap between research focusing on group communication considered to be shaped by ‘habitus’ and more constructivist research focusing on more localized interactive processes (Gumperz, 1999:453-454) (see section 2.3).

Admittedly, interactional analysis has been greatly influenced by Goffman and his work dealing with the ways in which individuals construct and perform social and discursive identities from moment to moment (Ribeiro, 2006:48). Within Goffman’s

frame analysis it is proposed that interactants jointly signal their definition of a situation through framing or in other words through signalling to each other what they believe they are doing (Ribeiro, 2006:48). The way in which such framing is achieved in interaction is through framing. Framing can be described as the “alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance; a change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events” (Goffman, 1981:128). The concept of frame and footing or positioning as understood in Positioning theory (see section 2.4) is employed in this work in the analysis of the construction of membership identities through forms of participation (see chapter 6).

As is evident by now, each of the sociolinguistic approaches to language and identity mentioned above has a different basis and different theoretical assumptions, yet their complementary emphasis can be combined, as I set out to do in my research.

2.3 From Speech Community to Communities of Practice

The study of the ways in which language can be connected to social relations, especially within groupings of individuals, is an important part of sociolinguistic inquiry. Initially, different fields of study held a tendency to consider it ‘natural’ that language itself creates community; an issue later on problematized when research in the 1960s highlighted the variability and complexity in which linguistic and social phenomena are linked (Irvine, 1996:123).

An opposition to the normative mono-dialectism and the neglected social and cultural issues in linguistics triggered sociolinguistic discussion on speech community (SpCom) in the ‘60s and ‘70s (Rampton, 2000, 1-2). Labov developed the Speech Community concept in Sociolinguistics in the 1960s in his study of the structure of New York City English (Patrick, 2002:585-88). Taking as a unit of analysis social aggregates in NYC, he treated all of NYC as a single-speech community, ultimately basing his treatment on the notion of shared social meaning and more specifically on shared norms and linguistic uniformity (Eckert, 2000:30). Despite the fact that Labov’s study has been pivotal for the development of the concept in sociolinguistics, his study has been criticised for conditioning the notion into an item-specific and

technical concept that described nothing more than some aspect of sociolinguistic variation within the spread of a particular variable (Rampton, 2000:3).

The concept of Speech Community has no single definition, as it was generalised and used by various researchers in different studies, notably both in distributional studies (e.g. Bernstein's code theory on the relationship between social class, family and the reproduction of meaning systems) and ethnographic works (e.g. Milroy's Belfast study) (Rampton, 2000:3). Two influential definitions are those of Gumperz and Hymes. Hymes' definition falls within his ethnography of speaking model and describes it as "A necessary primary term in that it postulates the basis of description as a social, rather than a linguistic, entity [...] A community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety." (Hymes, 2005:5-6). Such definition centralises interaction in focal settings in which feedback conveys behaviours in close proximity with dominant expectations (Rampton, 2000:7). In a sense, Hymes' take on SpCom focuses on ways of speaking and social knowledge of language function and norms (Patrick, 2002:580, 587). On the other hand, Gumperz's research focus on community construction led to his more interactional definition of SpCom as "any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage" (Gumperz, 1971, cited in Wardhaugh, 2006:122). In later reformulations Gumperz suggests that a SpCom may be either monolingual or multilingual, in addition to being composed of social networks in which "interpretive strategies are embedded...and passed on as shared communicative traditions" (Gumperz, 1996, cited in Patrick, 2002: 584).

While such definitions have been broadly engaged in sociolinguistic research, the fact that speech communities tend towards diversification and not on network-specific practices, restricts somehow the degree to which linguistic forms, conceptual structures and culture are shared (Patrick, 2002). In other words, the fact that speech communities must be externally cut off from other communities in certain ways (Wardhaugh, 2006:122) means that group-specific practices, sub-groupings within single communities and multiplicity of membership in a variety of communities are left unaccounted for and marginalised as contributing factors in community membership and social interaction. Another issue within the SpCom model is that there has been a tendency to "imagine separate communities with their own boundaries, sovereignty, fraternity and uniformity" (Pratt, 1987, cited in Rampton

2000:5), an example of which is Labov's NY study, in which certain immigrant groups were excluded from his study (Patrick, 2002:33).

However, such understanding of SpCom that is limited to looking within lines of social uniformity, fails at some level to grasp the fluidity of linguistic and social boundaries that could be uncovered through an 'across-boundary' social formation or differentiation (Rampton, 2000: 5). Similarly, in Hymes' ethnography of communication, a central part of which is SpCom, community structure and social meaning are emphasised with little reference to speaker agency and emergent meanings. (Patrick, 2002: 586). Generally speaking, even though there is a great body of research on SpCom with rather diverse definitions, the tendency to take language as central, as well as the emphasis attributed to identity categories (social identities attributed to individuals by virtue of their role in the social structure) over identity practices, and on groups over individuals, is prevalent in most research, posing important drawbacks of the SpCom framework in analysing social practices defining community membership.

At the other end of the spectrum, research on social structures, based on practice-based accounts, has been developing and slowly gaining ground in sociolinguistics. Outside linguistics, this idea has been most fully articulated by Bourdieu with his notion of 'habitus' (Patrick, 2002:204). Bourdieu uses the notion of 'habitus' to signify "deportment, the manner and style in which actors 'carry themselves'" (Jenkins, 1992:75). In detail, Bourdieu purports that 'habitus': a) exists "inside the heads of actors", b) exists in "practices of actors and their interaction with each other and with the rest of their environment", c) is an integral part of behaviour, and d) is "the product of the internalization of the structures of the social world" (Jenkins, 1992:75, Bourdieu, 1989:75). Bourdieu seems to place great emphasis on the unconscious and embodied set of transposable dispositions that characterise a habitus. In that order, Bourdieu's account of 'habitus' reflects a general attenuation of agency over structure and individual over society, since the focus is on the collective meaning of actions of social actors (Bucholtz, 1999:205). In detail, 'habitus' does not only involve "embodied forms of practice, but modes of thought that are unconsciously acquired, that are resistant to change and are transferable between different contexts" (Mutch, 2003:388). According to the above, it seems then that habitus is something that exists prior to practice and is what regulates it (Mutch, 2003:389). In this case,

the question of the ways in which some sort of ‘habitus’ might be constructed through practice remains unaccounted for.

The leeway of an integrated analysis, involving both social practices and language - shared linguistic resources, repertoires, understandings and interpretations brought about through practice itself - can be realised through a Communities of Practice framework. Within such perspective, and with a different thrust from the SpCom model (see Table 1 below) the emphasis is not merely on language practices, but rather on all aspects of social life including processes of engaging in practice, interpreting, understanding and developing commonalities. The fact that the CoP framework requires people in a community to be engaging in a mutual endeavour does not necessitate that all members are oriented to this practice in the same way, embracing both central and marginal members to an extent, as well as members in different trajectories (insider, outsider, boundary member, newcomer), an issue rather marginalised within the SpCom framework. What is more, CoP cannot be considered in isolation with the rest of the world or understood independently from other practices, an issue not focused upon in the SpCom model. In detail, the CoP framework takes into account the fact that people can simultaneously participate in multiple communities of practice, and therefore boundary encounters are taken to be an inherent characteristic of any community of practice, as they may form an ongoing forum of mutual engagement or a connection that provides peripheral experiences (Wenger, 1998:114, 117).

<u>Speech Community</u>	<u>Community of Practice</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared norms and evaluations of norms are required • Shared membership may be defined externally • Nothing to say about relationship between an individual’s group and personal identities • Non- teleological • Nothing to say about maintenance or (de)construction of boundaries between categories • Acquisition of norms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared practices are required. • Membership is internally constructed • Actively constructed dependence of personal and group identities • Shared social or instrumental goal • Boundaries are maintained but not necessarily defined in contrast with out-groups • Social process of learning
Adapted from: Holmes, J. and M. Meyerhoff (1999) <i>The Communities of Practice: Theories</i>	

Table 1
A comparison of SpCom to CoP

On the whole, the centrality attributed to practice in the CoP model implies that identities are rooted in actions rather than categories (Bucholtz, 1999:210). This emphasis on practice allows for analyses embracing the intersection of social practices, among which language practices in community formation and reformation. Additionally, the CoP leaves space for research into the ways in which engagement in different media use (whether offline or online) might give insights into how communication works in different modes and how the choice of such becomes ‘conventionalised’ and characteristic of the community.

2.4 Communities of Practice

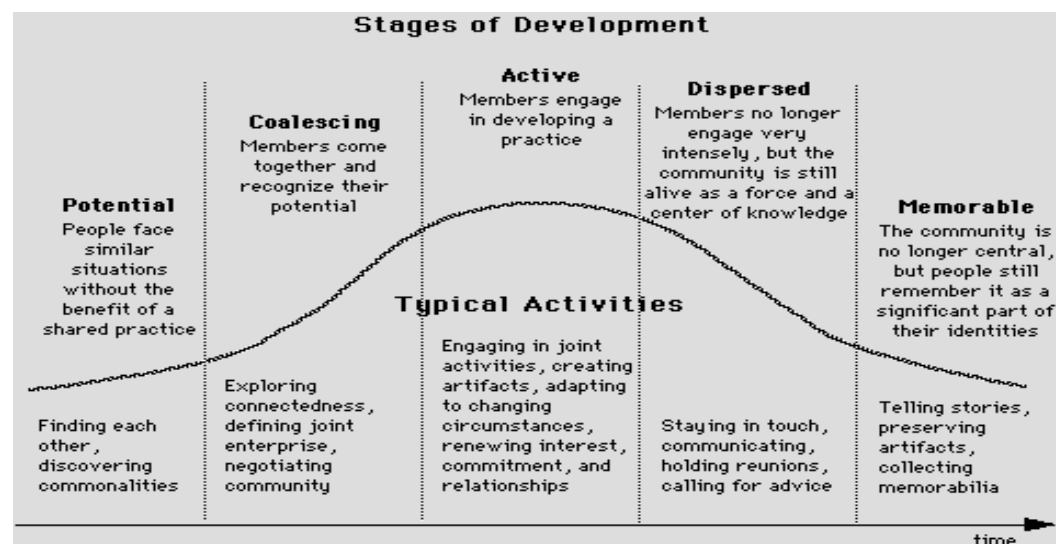
The term *Communities of Practice* (CoP) was first coined in 1991 by Lave and Wenger in their book ‘Situated learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation’, to indicate a network of connections between people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavour, such as a group of pupils defining their identity in the school (Wenger, 2007). Simply put, CoP form the basis for the social experience of living in the world in terms of membership in social communities and active involvement in social enterprise. What becomes important for Wenger, for membership in such communities, are the elements of domain, practice and community, which necessitate mutual engagement in the community, joint enterprise and discussions, and a shared repertoire of resources (1998).

The first component of such communities is *mutual engagement*, which denotes the process of developing shared ways of doing things, of engaging in actions whose meaning individuals negotiate with one another (Wenger, 1998). *Joint enterprise* is not only a stated shared goal, it refers to the process of negotiation of the meaning of mutual engagement (Wenger, 1998). Negotiating a joint enterprise gives rise to relations of mutual accountability among those involved, and that *mutual accountability* defines the circumstances under which members attempt, refuse, interpret, construct and reconstruct new meanings (Wenger, 1998). Last, *shared practice* describes the gathering or formation of resources for negotiating meaning (e.g. shared history of mutual engagement, linguistic resources, shared points of reference and meanings which can be re-engaged in situations).

The co-articulation of the three elements of a community of practice is successfully portrayed in De Fina’s (2007) study of code-switching in an Italian

community of practice in the US, the Circolo de la Briscola. Members of the Briscola club mutually engage in creating an all-men club for Briscola players (Italian card game). The clubs practices were found to largely draw on members' shared repertoire; more specifically members' ethnic identity emerged as a central feature of the community's organization as a whole through the association of Italianness and activities constructed as central to the community, such as food preparation (an important aspect of the Italian American tradition) (2007:378). Additionally, linguistic strategies as part of the club's shared repertoire played a vital role in the construction of Italian ethnicity due to the association of Italian language use with important areas of activity for the community (De Fina, 2007:389).

As Arrow *et al.* claim, groups are created, sustained and dispersed; as group processes unfold in time and experience amasses, groups change (2004:74). The issue of change cannot but hold true for CoP. As shown in Table 3 below "a community of practice's life cycle is determined by the value it provides to its members, not by an institutional schedule" (Wenger, 1998:4). The life cycle of CoP is generally described in five stages: the potential stage, the coalescing, the active stage, the dispersed and the memorable stage. All five stages depend on members' engagement in community practices and the negotiation of meaning.



(Adapted from: Wenger, E. (1998) Communities of practice: Learning as a social system In *Systems Thinker* 9(5), cover

Figure 1
Stages of CoP Development

Wenger emphasises that “communities of practice have life cycles...they come together, they develop, they evolve, they disperse according to the timing, the logic, the rhythms and the social energy of their learning” making it hard to specify their launching or dismissal dates, as well as the point where they begin or end (1998:96). Nonetheless, apart from the ways in which groups develop and the stages through which this comes about, communication among members is “the necessary prerequisite for the emergence and perpetuation of norms and roles, conformity and coherence, and for the achievement of outcomes”, as well as the means through which “individuals forge themselves into a group, maintain the group and coordinate their efforts” (Hargie and Dickson, 2004:417-418).

The negotiation of meaning in a community of practice involves processes of ‘participation’ and ‘reification’. The process of participation is an active process describing “the social experience of living in terms of membership in social communities and active involvement in social enterprises” (Wenger, 1998:55), while the process of reification generally refers to “the process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into ‘thingness’” (Wenger, 1998:58). Admittedly, any community of practice affects the lives of its members as well as providing them with tools, symbols and concepts that allow practice to become a meaning of experience of everyday life, through negotiation of those meanings. In this manner, people’s capacity to make sense of themselves, of others and the rest of the world is enabled through their forms of participation in, and contribution to, the community (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999). An individual’s identity, then, includes their ability to shape meanings that define their community and their belonging. Identical to practice in a community that is a way of experiencing the world, identity in a community of practice is a way of being in the world. As Etienne Wenger points out, “Identity in practice is defined socially not merely because it is reified in a social discourse of the self and of social categories, but also because it is produced as a lived experience of participation in specific communities” (Wenger, 1998:151). The concepts of identity and practice can be considered as a mirror of each other as appears in the following table.

Identity as...	Practice as...
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiated experience of self (in terms of participation and reification) • Membership • Learning trajectory • Nexus of multimembership • Belonging defined globally but experienced locally 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiation of meaning (in terms of participation and reification) • Community • Shared history of learning • Boundary and landscape • Constellations

Table 2
The parallel relationship of identity and practice

Within this framework, identity in practice can be seen as a negotiated experience, a learning trajectory, community membership, multimembership and a relation between the local and the global. In relation to the last three characteristics, it is important to note that the notion of identity highlights the nature of it, as an ongoing process of negotiation of activities and identities through emerging meanings present in different relations, trajectories, boundaries and broader schemes of things (Wenger, 1998). In a similar manner, “communities of practice cannot be considered in isolation from the rest of the world, or understood independently of other practices” (Wenger, 1998:103).

Within and parallel to one community of practice there are several communities of practice operating, which are interdependent and lack clear-cut distinctions. Communities of practice form communities through mutual engagement, joint enterprises, and development of a shared repertoire. They interact using various boundary connections such as brokering (introducing elements of one practice to another (Wenger, 1998:105) through members and by using boundary objects (forms of reification through which CoP can organise their interconnections (Wenger, 1998:105)) such as computers, telephones and mail. In place of alluding to disjointed parts of ourselves, forms of participation in different communities interlock, allowing the formation of one’s identity to become a process in which different types of membership knit into a one and ‘multiple’ self. Essentially, Wenger points out that being one self necessitates some act to reconcile one’s disparate forms of membership; the work of ‘reconciliation’ can be seen as a process of identity construction that involves finding ways to make our various forms of membership coexist (1998:159-160).

Again, this raises issues of membership and belonging. Mutual engagement forms only one aspect of one's belonging. This requires other aspects of one's belonging to be incorporated here, in order to pick out what the notion of belonging entails for the individual. What seems useful is the concept of '*imagination*' which describes the "process of producing new images and of generating new relations through time and space that become constitutive of the self" (Wenger, 1998:177), as well as the concept of '*alignment*', which reflects the process that "bridges time and space to broader enterprises so that participants become connected through the coordination of their energies, actions and practices" (Wenger, 1998:179). Furthermore, argues Wenger (1998), identity formation occurs within a tension of investing in various modes of belonging (which he terms 'identification') and the ability to negotiate the meanings that appear crucial in such a context (which he terms 'negotiability', e.g. 'economies of meaning' where a social system of relative values is negotiated).

Within Communities of Practice members choose to engage in and value particular practices, reflecting the ways in which they make relevant Discourses in their ways of doing things. As mentioned above, negotiability of and identification with particular Discourses become crucial processes in the construction of membership identity and community practices (see chapter 7). Discourses refer to "ways of acting, interacting, feeling, believing, valuing and using various sorts of objects, symbols, tool and technologies to recognize yourself and others as meaning and meaningful in certain ways" (Gee, 2005:7). Capital D-discourses reflect ways of being in the world and ways of acting, all of which are articulated through language-in-use (little d-discourses) (Gee, 2005:7). Mutual engagement in a joint enterprise is based on individuals' common beliefs, shared ways of acting and valuing and interests and goals; practices then are given meaningfulness based on such Discourses, connecting what we are doing to what we are in the world (Wenger, 1998:185). Such Discourses exist in the abstract as a coordinated pattern of beliefs, values, symbols and tools but most importantly they exist in the here-and-now performances whose importance is recognized and negotiated in sustaining such Discourses (Gee, 2005:29). Locating characteristic identities and activities in interaction entails identifying the local, interactional devices in, by and through which ethnicity is made relevant for participants in social interaction" (Hansen, 2005:65). The distinction made here between D-discourse as a knowledge system and ideology that is created and creates d-discourse as in the moment interactions is of valuable importance in this work as it

enables for the analysis of ethnic identity as defining factor for the formation of the Society itself but also of its practices (see chapter 7).

Clearly, CoP as a theoretical construct in linguistic inquiry would inevitably receive strong criticism, as within this model theories of language, discourse, issues of micro-interactional and sociolinguistic takes on the negotiation of meaning, and tension and conflict tend to be overlooked (Barton and Tusting, 2005:6). Referring to linguistic practice and variance within communities of practice, in her article 'Communities of Practice: Legitimacy not choice' (2005) Davies argues that although the theory of CoP has been a crucial analytical model for sociolinguistic analysis, issues of acceptance, legitimacy and hierarchy appear to not have been addressed. More precisely, she questions the degree of choice that individuals have in relation to their membership in a community and proposes that people's choices are inhibited by those people who can allow legitimate access to such communities (Davies, 2005). She argues that communities of practice have an internal structure and hierarchical order that defines legitimacy of participation. In addition, Davies supports the idea that the focus on mutual engagement limits the analysis on the micro-level research of society (local constructions of identity), not allowing any theoretical analysis on the macro-level of society ('global', broader social issues), which would in that case include communities of imagination and alignment. Last, she indicates that the notion of shared enterprise in the theory of CoP is rather general and indefinite of what type of practice actually constitutes such a community.

In response to this kind of approach, Eckert and Wenger (2005) emphasise that the issue of power and legitimacy in CoP is about practice, "as grounded in and shared by a community" (pp. 583). It does not only involve some kind of knowledge of how to do something right that would lead to legitimisation, but also being in such a position that 'what is right' can be continually negotiated. After all, Communities of Practice "can be defined as an on-going collective negotiation of a regime of competence [...]", and not simply as processes of conformity to the structural basis, symbols and practices of that community (Eckert and Wenger, 2005:583). In addition, they reject Davies' analysis of a linear hierarchy (top-bottom, where people at the top determine appropriateness, and those at the bottom discover and perform appropriateness), since they believe that competence for meaning-making practices is not static but is continually negotiated through actual practice, and that in general any particular hierarchy that might exist is not definite of the particular CoP (Eckert and Wenger,

2005:584-585). Last but not least, Gee points out that the negotiation of practice, ideology, engagement, language and organisation in the locality of a CoP can be clearly linked to the broader development and transformation of social conventions (Gee, 2005:592).

In Bucholtz's study (1999) of language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls, it was found that the display of academic knowledge or use of specific linguistic choices (e.g. slang) is not an innate characteristic of identity categories but rather depends on where one positions himself. What is more, Bucholtz found that conflicts involving nerdiness, which "like all identities, is a contested domain in which speakers struggle both over control of shared values and over control of identity itself", reveal the heterogeneity of membership in the community of practice (1999:220). While some practices reproduce the existing local social structure others undermine it in the same way that some nerdy practices comply with the larger social order, while others resist it. In essence linguistic practices work in conjunction with other social practices to produce meanings and identities within the community.

Almost every community has an internal power structure that might be definitive of who has access to participation in the practices of that very community. However, such CoP structures do not necessarily place boundaries to individual choices, as both becoming and being a member of a community is about continuously negotiating oneself in view of various in-group and out-group social changes. What is more, analysis on the micro-level research of society not only does not limit, but rather provides useful insight into the ways in which the process of meaning and identity negotiation, being locally constructed, can at the same time invoke and make relevant communities of imagination and alignment (larger social identities) in order to deal with the requirements of the interaction at hand (e.g. online communities). Nonetheless, it must be recognised that in order to provide such analyses, one must pin down how language is part of such processes, as it is the main vehicle through which people communicate and negotiate meanings. In order to act and interact we must engage in practice which results in the production and negotiation of meaning, which to an extent creates and maintains social relations. Yet, in the case of CoP, mutual engagement should not be equated with homogeneity, as different identities can be articulated and intertwined with one another in such contexts, without any unification into one particular identity being required for effective meaning negotiation (Wenger, 1998:75). Discounting the fact that identity is an ongoing,

temporal, socially constructed and multi-layered process, would lead to misleading conceptions of what one's practices and membership in communities entails for the individual.

As mentioned above, at the heart of 'communities of practice' is the acquisition of linguistic competence. Writing in 1999, Holmes and Meyerhoff highlight the fact that within a Community of Practice, "the patterns or activities typically involve many aspects of behaviour including global or specific aspects of language structure, discourse and interaction patterns" (Holmes and Meyerhoff, 1999:175). Interaction by extension necessitates language use, either in face-to-face interactions or through mediated communication (i.e. letters, telephones or computers). As Wenger has put it, geographical proximity is not a prerequisite for engaging in practice: "Given the right context, talking on the phone, exchanging electronic mail or being connected by radio can be part of what makes mutual engagement possible" (Wenger, 1998, cited in Davies, 2005:561). At the same time, identity constructions become possible through language practices, as they become a tool for projecting a sense of being and belonging, as well as a way to carry out the goals shared by members of a community. Nevertheless, how we perceive ourselves changes with our community of practice, allowing us multiple identities: "Neither identity nor language use is a fixed notion; both are dynamic, depending upon time and place" (Norton, 1995, cited in Gibson, 2004:3).

A key aspect within a CoP framework is that people forming a CoP have the advantage to form online communities within community network contexts, as people are formally a part of each other's social network, in contrast to online communities, which are often formed across dispersed populations. This in extent mitigates problems that emerge from the lack of social presence online (Kavanaugh *et al.*, 2005: article 3). It is suggested that, "the Internet provides spaces of communication in which the identity, meaning and boundaries of a [diasporic] community are continually constructed, debated and reimagined" (Mandaville, 2003, cited In Androutsopoulos, 2006:521). As Holmes points out, "individuals can be regarded as constantly engaged in the process of constructing aspects of interpersonal and inter-group identity" (Holmes, 2006:168). In this sense, individuals perform interaction-relevant identities; that is, identities based on the local activity (e.g. discourse identities or situated identities) which thereafter trigger inferences based on shared

assumptions or knowledge about characteristics of social or group categories to make sense of what is going on in interaction (Widdicombe and Wooffit, 1995:71-73).

An issue that is of great importance in this research is the issue of member relations and member positions being important aspects of a community's structural elements. To be more precise, a community can be described as a social structure that consists of smaller socially structured connections, rather than the sum of independent individual agents. A focus on member relations provides insight into the ways in which smaller social structures impact on and are shaped by membership in the larger social group, the Greek Cypriot Student Society.

Nevertheless, when seeking to address questions of member relations, patterns of association and the ways in which these may function as parameters affecting degrees of engagement and identity articulations, the CoP model seems to be insufficient in this manner. More specifically, the CoP model considers community practices as practices acquired from all new members rather than practices generated by member association. Practices do not only need to be learned but also need to be mutually employed by members. Of course newcomers will be inducted in new practices but this does not mean that they will engage in them. It seems that member collaboration is worthy of attention as a facilitating factor in the process of participation and engagement in practice. It is assumed that both member position and member associations are issues that either encourage or attenuate participation in a community.

Considering that CoP are a specific form of social network in that they are differently constituted as being much smaller units than entire social networks, and are defined even more strictly by members' negotiated shared behaviour (Meyerhoff, 2006:185) leaves little space for analyses focusing on the types of member relations and positions evolving through the processes of negotiation, and conversely their effect on such processes. Correspondingly, in order to address such issues, the CoP model, which emphasises processes of engagement, needed to be complemented with theory that focuses on social relationships as 'resources' that encourage participation as well as theory that focuses on processes of adopting or offering available 'subject positions within the Society.

To begin with, the CoP model provides useful information on different positions of community members. Wenger's identification of five types of identity trajectories formed through the succession of forms of participation (Wenger, 1998:154) is an effective way of describing member positioning within the Society. Wenger identifies

five types of trajectories, which are: a) Peripheral trajectories, b) Inbound trajectories, c) Insider trajectories, d) Boundary trajectories, and e) Outbound Trajectories. Peripheral trajectory refers to cases where the trajectory never leads to full participation, even though one has a type of access to the community and its practice that becomes significant enough to contribute to one's identity (Wenger, 1998:154). Inbound trajectory mainly refers to newcomers joining a community with the prospect of becoming full participants in its practice. Identities are invested in future participation (Wenger, 1998). Insider trajectory refers to cases where identity formation does not end with full participation and the evolution of practice is continuing while boundary trajectory refers to trajectories that link communities of practice, as they are located in spanning boundaries - an individual's identity can be said to be across boundaries (Wenger, 1998). Last, outbound trajectories refer to cases when an individual's trajectory leads out of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). Seemingly, these kinds of identifications can be used in this research to adequately describe the positions of the Society members.

Apart from this, and as previously mentioned in this section (section 2.3) the CoP framework does not address the issue of power imbalance beyond the dichotomy of core-peripheral member. Rather than being merely ascribed and passively received, positions are actively negotiated and achieved depending on members' roles within the Society (Tan and Moghaddam, 1999:187). Within Positioning Theory (PT) the notion of 'positioning' describes the process through which "speakers adopt, resist and offer 'subject positions' that are made available in discourses or 'master narratives' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:43). In other words positioning refers to the assignment of 'roles' to members in the discursive construction of personal stories that make an individual's actions intelligible somewhat determinate as social acts (Van Langerhove and Harré, 1999:17). Additionally, positioning is more often than not interrelated with localised identity construction and social power relations in that different positions are associated with duties and obligations but most importantly rights within the context these operate (Tan and Moghaddam, 1999:184). This close connection is especially important for this work, as it informs the analysis of specific Society positions as a defining factor on issues of legitimacy to claim membership and participation in the Society and its practices (see chapter 6).

Notwithstanding the member trajectory categorisations given in the CoP framework, it must be admitted that they give little information regarding the social

relationships on which the Society is based. Hence, it seems suitable to look into participant relationships by bringing in the notion of social network. It is accepted that “social networks can be defined as the relationships [individuals] contract with others ... [reaching] out through social and geographical space linking many individuals” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, cited in Meyerhoff, 2006:184). Notably, networks vary in density and types of ties. In terms of density, a network can be characterised as a dense network when “a large number of the persons to whom ego is linked are also linked to each other” (Milroy, 1980:50). In other words, a dense network is characterised as the one in which the members all know each other. However, in cases when not all members know each other, these can be said to be loose networks; loose networks refer to the situation in which a number of people to whom an ‘ego’ is linked, are not linked to each other (Milroy, 1980:50). In terms of quality of ties between individuals, these can be distinguished into uniplex and multiplex ties. When a person may be connected to other individuals in a single capacity (e.g. father-daughter) then such a relationship can be referred to as uniplex (Milroy, 1980:51). However, when individuals in a social network are linked through several social relationships (e.g. cousins-classmates-neighbours), then we speak of multiplex ties (Meyerhoff, 2006:188).

Having to contextualize the SNA approach in this research necessitates some sort of clarification as to how network links are defined and measured and what such framework has to offer. Member links are initially established through the process of reciprocal naming and are thereon juxtaposed with the type of communication among members. In essence, knowing someone well equates to more direct choices of communication (i.e. telephone and text messaging) which reaffirm social intimacy and strength of bond among members (see Chapter 5 and more specifically section 5.3). It is noteworthy to mention that Social Network Analysis (SNA) enriches findings on member positions based on Wenger’s identification, by providing a similar framework on the community’s structure. More specifically, members can hold positions of core member, peripheral member and secondary member; these positions are identified vis-à-vis their social network. It goes without saying then that employing SNA (Milroy, 1980) mainly as a method of validation for the relationship between member relations and choices of communication mediums not only sheds light on aspects of community social relations that the CoP model lacks focus on, but

also complements the analysis with regards to the identification of member positions and their relationship to degrees of engagement in social practices (see section 6.4).

2.5 Language, Identity and Computer-Mediated Discourse

It is an undeniable fact by now that social relationships flourish online and have since the beginning of interactive computing (Baym, 1998). Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) emerged as a field of analysing language in online communication in the 1980s and early 1990s. Early research conducted within this field was characterised by a focus on ‘the language of CMC’ (synchronous vs. asynchronous communication, written vs. spoken, etc.) and has since then been extended to the analysis of “the interplay of technological, social and contextual factors in shaping computer-mediated practices” and “the role of linguistic variability in the formation of social interaction and social identities on the Internet” (Androutsopoulos, 2006:420-421).

According to Herring (2008:2), research regarding online language use can be grouped into five major areas. Firstly, ‘classification’ dealt with the analysis of the relationship of computer-mediated language to speech and writing, as well as the classification of different modes of computer-mediated discourse (e.g. blogs and instant messaging) (Herring, 2008:2). Yates’ comparison of the use of vocabulary, modality and personal pronoun use in asynchronous computer conferences with spoken and written English is characteristic of this kind of research (Herring, 2004:5). Using interactions from CoSy (computer conferencing system) Yates illustrated that a) CMC users “package information in text in ways that are more written- than speech style”, b) the percentage of pronoun use in CMC is more similar to spoken language despite the higher frequency of first and second person pronoun use in CMC, and c) the use of modal auxiliaries is significantly higher in CMC (Yates, 1996:39, 41 and 44).

Similarly, through her analysis of e-mails with a close focus on social dynamic, format, grammar and style, Baron (1998) noted that even though e-mails are more closely positioned to writing, there is an emergence of a mixed modal lineage, that of writing systems in combination with spoken and sign languages (1998:162). Baron concluded that emails form a communicative modality in flux and described them as a “creolizing linguistic modality” (Baron, 1998:162).

Second, a growing body of research has focused on the ‘structural features’ of Internet language, such as typography, orthography and neologisms (Herring, 2008:2). Crystal’s work is characteristic of this type of research, which analysed orthographic grammatical, graphic and discourse features of language in emails, chat groups, blogging, virtual worlds (MUDs – multi-user dimension, and MOOs – multi-user object-oriented technology) and Web (www). He suggests that emoticons, abbreviations and playful typography encountered in all the computer-mediated situations he investigated formed a type of language displaying features that are unique to the internet (Crystal, 2001:20). Crystal employs the term ‘Netspeak’ to refer to a third kind of language modality, since this type of language is beyond the dichotomy of speech and writing, as its use combines both spoken and written characteristics.

Further research regarding language and the Internet is work focusing on ‘discourse patterns’ within the medium, including pragmatic, interactional and register phenomena (Herring, 2008:2). An example of this area of research is Cherny’s (1999) ethnographic study of a social MUD. Cherny uses the term ‘speech communities’ to characterise individual MUDs, as through her analysis of individual modes of computer-mediated discourse (CMD) she noticed that variation can be different between different social MUDs on the basis of histories, norms and user demographics of each group (Herring, 2007). Additionally, as a type of a more contextualised research, Baym’s analysis of television soap opera fans highlights the impact of external contexts, temporal structure, system infrastructure, group purposes and participants’ characteristics on CMC. What emerges from such analysis is that “participants in CMC develop forms of expression that enable them to communicate social information and to create and codify group-specific meanings, socially negotiate group specific identities, form relationships [...] that move between the network and face-to-face interaction, and create norms that serve to organise interaction [...]” (1999:62) drawing on resources that come from a variety of outside sources, such as the ones mentioned above. All those forces influence one another in shaping emergent social dimensions of the group (Baym, 1999).

Moreover, online language use has been analysed in terms of language contact and ‘language ecologies’, as well as a “lens through which to study human behaviour more generally” (Herring, 2008:3). Relevant to this last type of research, as well as to the online application under analysis in this work, is research on Facebook. Little

research has been documented on Facebook given the somewhat recent popularity of this network site. Facebook was operationalised in early 2004 as a Harvard-only social networking site, and from September 2005 up to now has expanded to include high school students, professionals inside corporate networks, and eventually everyone (Boyd and Ellison, 2007:8). Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe examined the relationship between Facebook use and the formation and maintenance of social capital². It was found that Facebook usage was not only associated with psychological well-being, but also with the creation and maintenance of the three types of social capital – “bridging, bonding and maintaining” - and especially with that of bridging social capital. “Bridging social capital” refers to ‘weak ties’ between individuals who may provide useful information but typically not emotional support. “Bonding social capital” refers to tightly-knit emotionally close relationships and “maintained social capital” to the ability to maintain valuable connections (Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe, 2007:1146). A very recent analysis focused on more specific features of Facebook, examining the relationship between the number of ‘friends’ a Facebook profile featured and observer’s ratings of attractiveness and extraversion (Tom Tong, Van Der Heide, Langwell and Walther, 2008:531). Tom Tong *et al.* found that there is a curvilinear relationship between the number of friends that profile owners are featured to have and other perceptions of their social attractiveness (Tom Tong, Van Der Heide, Langwell and Walther, 2008:542).

CMC research has in the past decade widened its scope and has moved beyond the mere investigation of linguistic features to wider “social and discourse complexities of the socio-technical system of CMC” (Cherny, 1999 cited in Androutsopoulos, 2008:2). To start with, for the study of language use online, Herring (2007) proposes a classification scheme of computer mediated discourse (CMD) which allows for the depiction of both technical and social aspects of context influencing online discourse. As proposed by Herring (2007:10) factors that influence computer mediated discourse can be grouped into two separate categories medium (technological) factors and social (situation). Medium factors include issues of: synchronicity, message transmission, persistence of transcript, size of message buffer, channels of communication, anonymous messaging, private messaging, filtering, quoting and message format; social factors include: participant structure, participant characteristics, purpose, topic

² ‘Social capital broadly refers to the resources accumulated through the relationships among people’ (Coleman, 1988, cited in Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe, 2007:1145).

or theme, tone, activity, norms and code (Herring, 2007:13, 18, 19). Herring's classification scheme is a useful tool for any researcher conducting work in online environments. Social factors such as code, tone and topic or theme will be dealt with in this work (see section 4.3.1) while medium factors will not be touched upon as they go beyond the scope of this study.

Similarly, research focusing on social and discourse complexities in CMC required a different approach towards the collection of online data for analysis, what Androutsopoulos (2008) terms as 'discourse-centred online ethnography' (DCOE). DCOE deals with the combination of persistent observation of particular sites of online discourse with direct contact with its social actors (Androutsopoulos, 2008:2). Focusing on the effect and integration of the Internet in the everyday life and culture of a community (Androutsopoulos, 2008:4) includes attendance and observation of member gatherings, as well as persistent observation of the particular sites of computer-mediated discourse (e.g. e-mails, websites, Facebook etc.), which as suggested by Androutsopoulos (2006:526) affords "insights into discourse practices and patterns of language use" in such CMC sites. The pervasiveness of relationality across different types of media can be documented with an analysis of different types of data generated from different conditions of encounter, involving different degrees of interactivity (Tsitsipis, 2007:629). Considering that this is an ethnographically-informed study involving the investigation of not only offline but also online member practices required the contextualisation of such, as that is enabled through the DCOE lens (see section 3.1 for methods employed).

2.5.1 CMC research in the Greek context

Despite the fact that since the mid-1990s there has been a rapid growth of research touching upon issues of multilingualism on the Internet, there appears to be limited research on Greek CMC (cf. Tsiplakou, 2009:365). Research conducted in relation to the Greek context has mainly revolved around transliteration practices in CMC.

To begin with, Koutsogiannis and Mitsikopoulou's (2003) study focuses on social attitudes towards 'Greeklish' as those presented in the Greek press. Mitsikopoulou and Koutsogiannis identify three main trends towards the use of Greeklish: a retrospective trend which views Greeklish as a grave threat to the Greek language; a prospective trend which approaches Greeklish as a transitory phenomenon and a resistive trend which "points to the negative effects of globalization and relates

Greeklish to other communication and sociocultural practices” (Koutsogiannis and Mitsikopoulou, 2003).

Such views on the use of Greeklish have grown into subsequent studies focusing on the use of Greeklish. Tseliga, in the investigation of romanticized use of Greek and perceptions associated with its use, analysed specific features of the use of Greek and Greeklish in e-mails and the ways in which these interact with the context of the Greek cultural communication (2007: 119). Tseliga found that use of foreign language material, acquired habit, informality and speed supported the use of Greeklish in e-mails. Androutsopoulos’ work on Greeklish (2009) emphasises the use of Greeklish as script choice in computer-mediated discourse that can be turned from a technological constraint into a symbol of the medium in which it occurs, constituting the use of Greeklish as a case of computer-mediated digraphia (2009:221, 227).

Studies on e-mails in the Greek context have also been conducted however drawing on more micro-analytic perspectives. Georgakopoulou (1997) focuses on the analysis of code-switching to English and style-shifting from SMG into dialects. The findings of her study suggest that code-switching and style-shifting can be viewed as a means of “indexing the speakers’ identity and the alignments which they take up to themselves, their discourse and their audience” (Georgakopoulou, 1997: 143). Similarly to Georgakopoulou, Tsiplakou investigates the functions of code-switching from Greek and English in e-mail exchanges between Greek and Greek Cypriot friends and the attitudes towards the use of switching (Georgakopoulou and Lytra, 2009:314). Using both quantitative and qualitative analyses Tsiplakou illustrates that code-switching, code-mixing and code-shifting can be employed as a means to signal (or construct) symmetrical participant alignments and ingroup solidarity to index ingroup rapport (Tsiplakou, 2009:385). As Tsiplakou notes (2009:385) such language alternation “performatively subverts the ‘highly literate’ facet of their public identities” but also involves “consistent indexing of the ‘literate’ identity-to-be-subverted, and of the linguistic strategies deployed as mechanisms of subversion”.

Angouri and Tseliga (2010) have recently conducted research on intentional inpoliteness in asynchronous CMC. Adopting a CoP framework the writers analyse students’ and professional academics’ negatively marked behaviour in two academic discussion forums through the analysis of two linguistic devices, namely, the discourse particle [re] and non-standard punctuation and spelling when strong

disagreement occurs (Angouri and Tseliga, 2010:66). The study's findings suggest that [re] tends to be used by the members of both forums in message-initial position to initiate disagreement, while non-standard language use appears to be tolerated in the students' forum (Angouri and Tseliga, 2010:77). Overall, the study highlights that confrontational messages are constructed and reacted to differently in the two forums depending on the semantic content, the participants' identity and the norms shared by members of each CoP (Angouri and Tseliga, 2010:72, 77).

As can be generally seen, a great deal of research has been carried out with regard to CMC. However, as Georgakopoulou (2006) acknowledges in her article on 'CMC in Sociolinguistics', there is a need for further research that recognises the social consequentiality on CMC; that is, a need to pay attention to the ways in which established communities are shaped on such interactional medium and how these connect to, or follow up on, the offline communication of the very same participants that 'act' online (Georgakopoulou, 2006:551). This is true, especially with regard to Facebook. Research conducted around Facebook has revolved around its general use and its effects on relationships, not taking into account the fact that social networking sites are sites of engaging in interaction, which, as was previously stated, is the primary means through which people not only communicate information but also project (local and even larger, global) identities. It is hoped that this work will be privileged and innovative in this manner, as contextual and especially interactional elements will be the cornerstone on which an analysis of identity management within this medium will be developed.

As a general point of entry, this specific work falls into the CMDA (Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis) paradigm, which through the adaptation of discourse analysis methods seeks a more language-focused analysis of CMC. CMDA views online behaviour through the lens of language and its interpretations are grounded in observations about language and language use (Herring, 2004:339). Since online interaction takes place by means of discourse, and more specifically verbal language, the linguistic variant of CMDA draws its categories from linguistic discourse analysis such as CA, IS and text linguistics, which are methods informing the investigation of computer-mediated communication (Herring, 2004:65-66). As language communicates at multiple levels, it is characteristic of work falling into the CMDA paradigm to focus on such levels such as the structural (form), semantic (meaning), interactional (conversation management) and social (activities and function) (Herring,

2004:68). This present work can be said to focus on the last two levels of communication, as it seeks to address macro-level phenomena such as community and identity in relation to language use online, in addition to the offline aspect of communication.

I seek to move away from previous contextualised research in CMC that emphasised the dichotomy of written versus spoken discourse, to a more interactionally informed analysis, which will enable the linking of linguistic choices to other macro (larger) processes that operate explicitly or implicitly within discourse. I believe that such analytical focus allows for the investigation of how language and context co-constitute each other for not only the interpretation of meanings but also for the production of identities in online (e.g. threads) interactional occasions. This focus falls in line with the overall goal of my research, which is to provide an analysis of how people display identity, membership and role identifications and what the effects of such ascription are for the interaction in which it occurs across different communication media.

2.6 Conclusion

As it is by now evident, academic engagement with the notion of identity as a construct resulting from social and discursive practice has bestowed identity as that is applied to various different contexts and groups a challenging issue that can yield insightful results.

The present research can be generally described as a social constructivist piece of work as it approaches the issue of identity as a process that results from social practices. Nevertheless, this work maintains realist elements as there is increased focus on practice at context; that is, practice within the context of a community of practice, the Greek Cypriot student Society.

Considering the close focus on practice the present research is strongly shaped by the CoP theory as it focuses on the production of community and interaction within that very context. Practice in this work is taken to include both linguistic practices (i.e. language choices and categorisations, see section 4.3.1 and section 7.3 respectively) and social practices (i.e. mutual engagement in practice and participation, see chapter 6), as these cannot be understood independently within a community of practice. Another issue receiving attention in this work is the issue of

member relations that exist within the community of practice under study (see section 5.1). The group's underlying social networks that emerge are either goal-oriented as in the case of committee members or socially intimate friendship groups. The types of such social networks (distant/intimate) is an important issue touched upon as their nature is reflected in members' use of computer mediated communication (see section 5.5 and section 5.3 respectively). Positioning theory informs the analysis of the construction of membership identities through forms of participation in this work as it provides useful grounds in linking social (Society) positioning and power relations and micro with macro levels of identity construction (see section 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4).

A variety of interactional and community data both in face-to-face and mediated communication are employed for the investigation of language and identity management across media within the Greek Cypriot student Society. The theoretical approach taken (i.e. CoP, interaction analysis) calls for ethnographically informed methods of data collection and analysis. As it will be explained in the following chapter (see chapter 3) methods of data collection and analysis can be broadly described as 'ethnography of speaking' as what is at stake is an analysis of the interrelatedness of identity and language use across media.

CHAPTER 3

DATA DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Overall it can be said that this study is an ethnographically-informed study that can be understood under the umbrella of ‘linguistic ethnography’. “Linguistic ethnography generally holds that to a considerable degree, language and the social world are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity” (Rampton *et al.*, 2004:2). The method used in this research is in line with recent developments in ethnographic research; namely the shift away from old-fashioned ethnography conducted around the ‘problem’ of the nature of culture and language of the ‘exotic’ or ‘other’, to the ethnographic research that regards culture and language as premises for research (Scollon and Scollon, 2007:608-609).

Choosing such an approach is mainly justified by the fact that the CoP framework employed in this work for the investigation of the Greek-Cypriot Society is an ethnographic activity based approach, useful for language and identity analyses in groups (Bucholtz, 1999:203). The aim of this work is to offer an analysis of mixed media use in a community and an analysis of the members’ language practices in context viewed through the lens of CoP framework. Considering the importance attributed to social action (among which language practices), negotiation of practices and participation in such within the CoP framework, the employment of an ethnographic approach of data collection enabled me to take a holistic view as it “leaves nothing unaccounted for”, revealing at the same time “the interrelatedness of all the component parts” (Hornberger, 1994, cited in Dornyei, 2007:133). In order to uncover the locality of the Society’s practices and the ways in which these shaped members’ perceptions of community and construction of membership identities, the employment of ethnographic tools for the collection of data was necessitated as the focus within such an approach is on the documentation and portrayal of members’ everyday experience (Basit, 2003). This by extension required: focus on participant meaning (looking at what is happening through the eyes of an insider), prolonged engagement in the natural setting (researcher immerses him or herself in the

community) and emergent nature (exact focus of research evolving contextually) (Dornyei, 2007).

Ethnographic methods bring to view the social meanings with which the participants invest their practices (Bucholtz, 1999:220). Therefore, aiming to document social action, as well as the unfolding outcome of such action (Scollon and Scollon, 2007:621), requires that extensive research be conducted in the participants' context of communication and social life rather than in a theoretically-assumed context. As Rampton points out, "Meaning takes place within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically" (Rampton, 2007:565). Even though this research accommodates shortened timelines, by drawing upon ethnography's most basic fieldwork techniques, the focus is on multiple sites of group practices and social contexts which allow for rich sets of data (see section 3.3.2) and findings. Such time compression seems justifiable, as familiarity with the field setting and participant culture reduces the amount of time necessitated in order to understand the 'other'. Data collection techniques employed were suitable for convenient use within the specified time period of approximately three years. More precisely, what is under study here is not merely shared linguistic norms, but rather the ways in which interaction comes about in different media, the means of communicating and the engagement in social practices as part of community membership. With regards to the use of different media, ethnographic insights and especially DCOE is a valuable tool in analysing the relationship between communication/language practices online (i.e. language choice and medium choice) and the participants offline practices and social relationships (Androutsopoulos, 2008, see section 2.5.1 for DCOE).

As is evident by now, participant observation is a key feature of ethnographic approaches and proves to be a fruitful tool for sociolinguistic research by offering a large amount of quality data collected, and crucial insights into community dynamics (Milroy, 2003:68). In other words, familiarity with the community being studied gives access to people's social and communicative practices, and insight to make sense of these issues. Through participant observation, casual interaction and extended contact are facilitated, eliminating any discomfort that might arise in interviews or tape recordings, for example (Milroy, 2003:69). To an extent, practices

associated with community membership can be better understood when directly observed rather than by learning about these through other data elicitation techniques.

Despite the benefits of participant observation, problems associated with it, such as the amount of time necessitated to spend in the field and emotional involvement with community members must be acknowledged. Although a number of researchers support that “the ethnographic researcher becomes a part of the nexus that makes ethnographic work possible” (Tusting and Maybin, 2007:578), surely the position of researchers entails a double danger, in the sense that on the one hand their background theoretical assumptions may affect their understanding and interpretation of the data, and on the other hand their emotional involvement with the participants, due to the time spent with them, possibly affects the representation and legitimation of the findings of the research.

In response to such problems, researchers conducting ethnographic studies should be in a position to substantiate their findings and interpretations by being reflective on the whole process of the research. For example, reflectivity on the process or cycle of the data collection, the gathering and organisation of data, the grounds on which knowledge claims are being justified, the constraints imposed upon different stages of research and the categorisation system used to interpret the data, are elements that minimise any problems associated with representation and legitimation of the research (Brewer, 2000: 131-132). With regard to this challenge to linguistic ethnography, Tusting and Maybin argue that this can be resolved through a clear distinction between, on the one hand, the patterned nature of language behaviour that emerges from a linguistic analysis, and on the other hand the participants’ situated knowledge and understanding (Tusting and Maybin, 2007). Even more specifically, Brewer suggests that, “ethnographers should test members’ accounts against reliable evidence and check them against both with what people say and can be experienced and observed” (Brewer, 2000:127). The implications of the researcher’s participation and involvement within the community of practice were therefore an issue of careful consideration during the process of data analysis.

Participant observation is a useful tool in facilitating and developing positive relationships among researchers and informants during the early stages of the research. When combined with other approaches, participant observation can improve the design of other data collection methods, such as interviews, in the sense that it can

help to ensure the appropriateness and relevance of interview questions, as well as the participant selection for group recordings.

3.2 The community under study: HEI Cypriot student Society

The particular community under investigation in this study is 'HEI University of London Cypriot Society'.

The Society was formed in 2005 by Cypriot students of HEI University of London. The nature of the society is non-governmental and non-political and as outlined in the society's website, it aims to:

- Give the opportunity to the members of the Society to get to know the Cypriot mentality, culture, history and civilisation and exchange ideas for issues concerning Cyprus.
- Provide a national forum through events and meetings under which these students can meet each other.
- Inform the members about the complicated political situation in Cyprus in an objective and disinterested way.
- Allow current students/members of the Society, through their experience, to give the basic information to the newly-arrived- members about life in London.
- Assist the members of the Society facing problems and difficulties or anything whatsoever, always within the competences and powers of the Society, without contravening the Union's Rules and Constitution.
- Inform the prospective students living in Cyprus about the opportunities and education in HEI University and create affiliations with the Cypriot Societies of other universities, in a spirit of co-operation and solidarity (<http://www.heicysoc.com/Constitution.html#bookmark2>, Accessed 7/1/08)

The Society operates within and according to the regulations of the Constitution set out by the Student Union and the Society (see Appendix A1). The Society is managed by an eight-person committee, which provides service for one academic year. The Committee positions are outlined below in hierarchical order:

1. Chair
2. Vice President(s)³
3. Treasurer
4. Secretary
5. PR Officer and Events Officer⁴
6. Sports Officer
7. Web Officer

The Committee is elected every year, through elections that occur during the spring term. Notably, the new Committee elected each year does not operate as the central administrative body of the Society, but rather works as a subsidiary Committee until September of the next academic year, where the previous Committee entirely hands over the management of the Society. From the start of this research the committee reformed approximately three times. For the 2007/2008 year, the members of the committee were comprised of five male and three female members. For the 2008/2009 and 2009/2010 academic years, the committee was formed by six male and two female members. All committee members are undergraduate students. The committee members play an important role in the Society's maintenance, as they make decisions about any happenings or events, inform all other 'non-core' (non-core to mean no role assignments within the committee) members and are in addition the administrators of the Society's Facebook group, 'HEI University of London Cypriot Society'.

Membership to the Society is open to all members of HEI University and Student's Union, and a membership fee (determined by the committee) is required from all students who wish to become members of the Society. There are 40 official members of the Cypriot Society, with 'official' meaning members who have registered with the Union and have paid the required fee. Out of these 40 members, 70 percent are female and 30 percent are male. Both participant observation and informal discussions with the Society's Chair revealed that only one of the Society members was a non-ethnic. The majority of the Society members are Greek-Cypriot and a handful of members are English-Cypriot. One male member (Vas) was from

³ In 2007-2008 one Vice President served the Committee while in 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 two Vice Presidents served the Society's Committee.

⁴ For the 2007-2008 academic year PR officer was a separate position from Events Officer, while for 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 the two positions were made into one position that of PR and Events officer.

Singapore. His affiliation with the Society was due to his friendship with one of the respondents (Thanos, see section 3.3.1) with whom he shared a flat. Vas did not regularly attend Society events. Vas never attended events without Thanos and when he would infrequently attend he would accompany Thanos at the event.

The Society has set up an official website (www.heicysoc.com) in which information about events, general information and photos are posted, as well as detailed information about the committee members and the Society's constitution. In addition, the Society has formed a Facebook group called 'HEI University of London Cypriot Society', which is administered by the committee members and made up of approximately 192 members, 116 of which are female and 76 are male. Notably, not all members of the Facebook group are official members, nor are they all present students of HEI University. A large number of members are people who have previously been students at HEI University or are present students of other universities. The formation of this online group provides an additional way to share information on special events and any other happenings, and offers the 'wall' utility where people can post enquiries, comments and anything of interest to them. Besides the official website and Facebook group, students are informed about upcoming events via e-mails forwarded by the committee to all official and unofficial members. On rare occasions, the Society makes use of telephone technology, as text messages are sent to all members of the society regarding information on events. Lastly, it is worth mentioning that in many cases the events are organised in association with other Cypriot societies in the UK, and more specifically London Universities.

3.2.1 The Society's Stages of Development

CoP develop around issues that matter to people, and the practices that revolve around those issues reflect the members' own understanding of what is important (Wenger, 1998:2). The process of change of the Greek-Cypriot student Society can be best understood within Wenger's framework of CoP stages of development (see Figure 1, Section 2.4).

Admittedly, Wenger's model has been developed to describe the lifespan of CoP usually placed within organisational settings. However, in this particular work I am adapting Wenger's model of five stages of CoP development (potential stage, coalescing, active, dispersed and memorable stage, see Figure 1, section 2.4) to describe the Society's annual cycle. Notably, reference to the annual cycle does not

indicate that the Society's lifespan can be fulfilled or described within one annum. In contrast, it describes the way the Society's practices are experienced by the members. The lifecycle of a community of practice is defined by the value it gives to its members. Considering that the Society's population is highly transitional based on who arrives and leaves each year, it appears that the Society has to invest in satisfying aims and goals annually. For example, newcomers are most likely to go through all the stages of Society development within one year (in cases when study time lasts one year, e.g. MA degree) or throughout their studies until graduation, transforming from newcomers into old-timers. Of course in cases when members are long-lasting members of the Society, their experience of the stages of development will be based on the value of their experience throughout their membership. Every year the arrival of new members activates processes of community formation in order for new members to be attracted to the Society's practice. At the same time, old-timers engage with newcomers in developing a practice and therefore experiencing at some level a (repetitive) cycle of different degrees of engagement (which the model describes).

As follows, the Society is renewed every academic year with new people entering and old-timers leaving the Society; therefore the Society focuses on developing its practices within that very year, as every new academic year is a new 'beginning' for the Society. As a community of practice the Society defines itself in the 'doing' and has no beginning or end date. At the same time, it is believed that the stages of entering a society, actively engaging, and in the end withdrawing from the Society, are elements that are indicative of both members' extended experience throughout their membership but also of the new members' process of apprenticeship.

Participant observation indicated that the Society's annual (life) cycle begins each September and somehow ends during the summer months. More specifically, during the 'potential stage' people are faced with similar situations without the benefit of a shared practice, and activities involve finding each other and discovering commonalities (Wenger, 1998:3). Similar situations describe (Greek-Cypriot) people's experience of beginning, or continuing, their degree in the particular HEI in the UK. The Committee's initial take on this issue is to allow members to find each other by gathering the names of people to be enrolled at the HEI and circulating e-mails for a first meeting at the beginning of September. At this first meeting people

meet each other and discover commonalities (e.g. studying at the same university, being Greek-Cypriots studying abroad, coming from the same towns or schools, etc.).

The meeting is considered to be an initiation event into the Society, as Committee members, as well as already-registered members, attend the event in order to provide information and advice to newcomers about living and studying in London (e.g. information about accommodation, health issues, banking) and the Society's goals, tasks and events. The newcomer's first contact with people that have already experienced 'being a student in the UK' and being a member of the particular university's Cypriot Society allows them to associate with other people that have experience of the world that the new students are about to enter. As Hargie and Dickson (2004:407) indicate, "it is only through association with others that we come to an understanding of the social world that we inhabit and indeed of ourselves". Communication at this point is usually limited to information-giving e-mails from the Society (Committee), as arrival in the UK and full registration to the specific HEI is only completed at the end of September. Notably, such e-mails are uni-directional in the sense that they are directed to all prospective and existing members by the Society as a unit, not requiring any sort of reply that would result in e-mail communication exchanges. However, members do exchange information including telephone numbers, e-mail addresses and begin some sort of 'getting to know each other' communication (perhaps some sort of personal information retrieval). Such communication gives rise to the 'coalescing stage'.

After the first meeting (pre-departure meeting), once people are enrolled at the HEI and are welcomed at the Fresher's Fair, the Society keeps regulating e-mails and by mid-October an annual meeting dinner is organised. This is mainly due to the possible absence of some people in the first meeting. Thus, this will allow people to see both familiar and new faces. During this stage the newcomer is located in the Society's peripheral sphere by being a 'learner' of how the Society operates and what the activities are; he or she is accepted as an active member of the social community and structure. This kind of peripheral participation allows the newcomer to develop his role and identity through meaningful activity in the community, and to gradually move towards full participation (Bjørke, 2005:50). Moving from the peripheral zone to a place of core participation is an empowering process, progressively giving access and influence to members of the Society. People get a first taste of what membership might involve, and begin to realise and experience connections between members.

The possibility of bonding and formation of friendships between members starts to emerge. This is facilitated by member-to-member telephone communication, Facebook use through the 'friend request' option to view each other's profiles, as well as by face-to-face meetings arranged between members.

The Society then progresses to the 'active stage' through a focus on developing a practice by engaging in joint activities, adapting to changing circumstances, and renewing interests, commitment and relationships. As can be seen in Figure 1 in Section 2.4, the 'active' stage that a Community of Practice undergoes is the peak time for the Society, where both interaction and practices flourish. At this stage the Society's goals have been clearly set out and communicated to its members, and therefore what follows is engagement in practice. The time needed to reach the 'active stage' cannot be strictly defined in time-specific criteria. Participant observation and analysis of e-mail frequency (Chapter 4, Section 4.2) showed that this stage reflects the middle part of the academic year, especially from late October through to March, as the regular organisation of events by the Society and the members' increased attendance to socialising events (Greek nights, dinners, games nights, etc.) was noted after the first couple of months of their arrival and enrolment to the university. The events the Society organises, if not facilitates, bonds between the members. Events provide the opportunity for members to meet even more regularly, not only with the people that they are close friends with, but also with people that they do not have very intimate contact with. Additionally, the more or less regular number of people attending these events shows the members' understanding of the importance of 'meeting frequency' in sustaining the community.

Over the course of time, as with any other group processes of development, it seems natural for CoP to become 'dispersed'. Even though members do not engage intensely at this phase, they stay in touch, communicate and hold reunions. With regards to the particular community of practice under study, this holds true especially for members whose membership in the Society has been long-lasting (e.g. two years or more). Engagement in practice to a lesser degree, however, does not necessarily mean a decrease in communication between members. It was noted that within the Society, other smaller sub-communities are created in the form of friendships and study groups. This indicates that even though some members do not engage intensely in the Society's practices (attendance of events), they do seem to engage in the smaller communities that they have formed with one another.

Lastly, a final stage of a CoP formation is the ‘memorable stage’, in which the community is no longer central, with people remembering the community as a significant part of their identities by telling stories and collecting memorabilia (e.g. pictures, and tickets of events, trips and meetings). It seems natural for people who get a transfer to different universities, or for people who graduate, to centralise other aspects of their new lives and develop other interests, resulting in the de-centralisation and their non-engagement in the Society’s practices. Yet again, some kind of low-level communication is bound to exist, and that is justified as communication also facilitates needs other than the mutual engagement in the joint enterprise, such as the maintenance of friendships and connections formed through membership in the community.

With the arrival of newcomers each academic year, the Society becomes re-organised around itself, and through the process of participation members become subject to mutual influence, negotiating new positions, roles and identities (e.g. relative newcomers acquiring core positions in the Society’s committee through the process of candidature submission during the March elections each year). Identity, both in newcomers and old-timers, is invested in histories of practice and shaped by either individual or collective efforts to form coherence through time and space that merges together successive forms of participation in the definition of a community and self (Wenger, 1998:158). Undeniably, the Society is for each one of the members a new community of practice as change through the arrival of new members and the departure of others restructures the Society. Considering the long-term investigation of the Society it can be claimed that the Greek-Cypriot student Society constitutes a larger community of practice within which smaller communities of practice are in operation. Such smaller communities of practice are not independent units and are defined differently by each individual. For example, in case of an individual entering the Society in 2008/09 their perception of the community will be that community with the specific practices and members of that time period. In 2009/10 the community of practice will possibly be a different community of practice structure-wise as new members are registered and old-timers depart from the Society. Nonetheless, the Society remains one community of practice as the definition of mutual engagement in Society practices remains the same. In essence, various communities of practice can be said to be in operation under the umbrella of the larger community of practice (i.e. Society) and defined by members’ different points of entry; for each one of the

members, the community is not only defined by their time of registration and entry in the Society but also from the very fact that they are part of a Society. People departing or entering does not alter an individual's perception and experience of 'being a member' because they themselves are still part of the community of practice. Change in population does not alter the perception of community membership that one holds.

3.2.2 The Society's Linguistic Repertoire

As the title of the Society suggests, the members of the Society are speakers of the Cypriot-Greek dialect (CG). CG is the mother tongue of all of the Society members with the exception of the five English-Cypriot members who have been registered in the Society when this study was carried out. Since Society members come from Cyprus, it appears crucial to define the different language and dialects available in their repertoire.

To begin with, despite the fact that the official languages in Cyprus are that of Turkish and Standard Modern Greek (SMG), the use of Turkish in the South (Greek) part of Cyprus is nominal (Arvaniti, 2006:4). "The linguistic repertoire of Greek-Cypriot Cypriots comprises Cypriot-Greek, SMG and for the majority English" (Karoulla-Vriki, 2009:188). While CG is employed for unofficial, oral purposes in interactions with family, friends and co-workers, SMG is employed for official and oral written purposes; it is widely used in administration and news broadcasting, and is the medium of instruction in state-run educational institutions (Karoulla-Vriki, 2009).

Greek has been an official language of Cyprus since 1960, however English is still widely used in many domains such as administration, tourism, banking and healthcare, and was the exclusive language of the law until 1987, due to the British colonial rule from 1878-1960 (Arvaniti, 2006:6). Additionally, English is the medium of instruction in many private secondary schools and tertiary education colleges and is also taken to be a *de facto* lingua franca in Cyprus (Arvaniti, 2006., cf. Karoulla-Vriki, 2009:189, Mavratsas, 1999:98).

The use of CG, SMG and English in member interactions varies according to the individual. Some favour code-switches to English as a result of their accommodation to the English-speaking context in which they live, while others code-switch as a

result of habit from their early years in private schools, in which the medium of instruction was English. In contrast to the use of English, the use of SMG (as used in mainland Greece) does not characterise any of the Society members' language use. Overall, CG is the preferred language choice in members' face-to-face interactions as well as online interactions (including both Facebook and emails).

3.3 Data Description

Bearing in mind that the focus of the particular research is on interactions among individuals of a CoP across modes and media, it seemed necessary to take on board a number of different types of data. It is believed that a combination of data such as face-to-face interactions, interviews, online interactions, e-mails and diaries were satisfactory data samples for the needs of the current study. To begin with, in order to get a handle on such issues, it appeared crucial to identify a number of informants and sub-groups, on which the analysis would be based. This decision was reached after careful consideration of the size of the community as well as the different sites of engagement from which data would be obtained. In other words, the amount of data to be collected and time restraints, were critical factors in the delimitation of focal participants. Ideally and for the purposes of the research it was considered fitting to identify informants holding different roles and positions within the Society. Surely, people holding core positions and people with more peripheral positions are sure to experience socialization into the group in rather different ways. This means that both informants that acquire committee roles and responsibilities, as well as informants in different positions within the society (e.g. freshers and long-term members) would become the key focus of attention. The choice of specific individuals holding such positions therefore was not based on gender, social class or age criteria, but rather on the position and role each one represents.

3.3.1 Focal Participants

Considering that the aim is to uncover how individuals in different stages of integration into the society socialize and communicate across media of interaction then the main criterion for focal participant selection was their disposition in different points of entry to the society. Considering that the overall number of the Society's

registered members amounts to forty members (see section 3.2 for Society description), a sample of about ten informants was considered to be a satisfactory sample, since the amount of information to be collected from the participants, vis-à-vis interviews, diaries and recordings would be complemented by the online data. Additionally, it must be stated that the selection of the particular sample was rather purposive; the roles of the ten focal participants within the Society determined their selection as the goal was to encompass various perspectives as enabled through differentiated roles and key persons within the community. As it was previously stated, some of the positions on which I have focused are those of committee member, long-term member and newcomer, and therefore ten focal participants were selected, from which data would be collected. The participant names, positions and extent of interaction in the Society are presented in the following table:

Participant	Society Position		
	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10
Alexandros	Society Chair	Society Chair	Society Chair
Adrianne	Newcomer	Society PR and Events Officer	Society Vice-President
John	Newcomer	Society's Fresher's Director	Society Events and Sports Officer
Eliza	Society Fresher's Director	Society Treasurer	Member
Michael	Newcomer	Society Sports officer	Society Vice-President
Julius	N/A	Newcomer	Member
Jennie	N/A	Newcomer	Member
Chrissie	N/A	Newcomer	Society Fresher's Director
Thanos	Newcomer	Member	Society Web-Officer
Georgiana	Member	Member	N/A

Table 3
Names and positions of focal participants

Alexandros

The Society's Chair, Alexandros, is a 22-year old male from Nicosia and was in his third year of study at the university when the study began. Notably, Alexandros has been the Society's Chair throughout the duration of this research; that is, throughout 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10. Generally speaking, he is responsible for directing the energies and practices of the committee and in extent of the Society. He is involved in writing, editing and circulating e-mails about upcoming events, or e-mails

with information believed to be of interest to the members. He is also engaged in frequent contact with other societies, arranging co-organised events. The Chair is also an external representative of the Society at the HEISU liaison. Generally speaking, Alexandros takes on the role of the person who personally calls members to inform them about upcoming events and keeping a more direct communication channel open. Alexandros lives in the university's halls, and therefore has easier access to Greek-Cypriot people that live there, as well as other people from mainland Greece and other countries.

John

John, is a 21-year-old male from Nicosia who with the beginning of the study was a newcomer at the HEI. In 2008/09 and 2009/10 had obtained a Committee position and became the Society's Fresher's Director and Events/Sports Officer respectively. Even though his main responsibilities involved promoting freshmen's life and addressing their concerns, organising fares, events and parties as well as assisting students in various ways he was also engaged in other activities beyond his official duties. In many events he was responsible for pre-selling tickets while in other events he was at the front door welcoming students or going shopping for the basic things required for the event. He also promoted parties organised by other London universities amongst the HEI Cypriot Society members. On a more personal level, his living in private halls allows him to come in contact with other students of the HEI living there, as well as with people from other universities. John engages at a small degree in on-line Facebook communication. Rarely does he post on walls or make comments about pictures.

Thanos

Thanos is a 22-year-old male from Larnaca studying at HEI University. He is a long-term member of the Society, in that his membership is dated back to 2007. Up until the 2008/09 academic year Thanos did not hold any committee position. During the Society's elections in March 2009 he obtained the position of Web Officer in the committee for the 2009/10 academic year. He regularly attends events the Society organises and is sharing a flat with the Society's Sports director. His relations with other members of the Society and committee are considered to be close and his best

friends are members of the Committee. His online activity is frequent and involves, posting on walls, posting updates, commenting on photos and joining groups.

Eliza

Eliza is a 21-year-old female from Nicosia and with the start of this study was in her second year of study at HEI University. She was the Society's Fresher's Director during the 2007/08 academic year and treasurer for the 2008/09 academic year. Initially she was responsible for organising fresher's fares and welcoming freshers while once a treasurer she was responsible for administering the finances and producing an annual budget. Notably, Eliza, similarly to other committee members, is involved in other activities such as arranging musicals and events, as all the members contribute where necessary. She is a frequent Facebook user vis-à-vis posting on walls, commenting on friend's statuses, uploading photos among other things. She mainly socialises with people who are part of the committee, as well as with other Society members (both freshers and long-term members) with whom she happens to live with in private halls of residence.

Jennie

Jennie is a 20-year-old-female from Nicosia and registered in the Society at the beginning of the 2008/09 academic year, which was her first year of study at HEI University. She socialises with both members and non-members of the Society and regularly attends events organized by the Society. Her internet use involves frequent use of Facebook, MSN Messenger and Skype.

Julius

Julius, a 21-year-old from Limassol, has been a registered member in the Society since autumn 2008 during his first year of studies in HEI University. He regularly attends events organised by the Society. He mainly socialises with people he studies with as well as with people that are members of the Society. He is a frequent Facebook user, in addition to other online social applications such as MSN Messenger and Skype.

Adrianne

Adrianne is a 21-year-old female from Limassol who has been a registered Society member since September 2007. After applying for a position in the Committee in 2008/09 she became the Events- Public Relations officer while in 2009/10 she was one of the Society's Vice Presidents. She is responsible for promoting the Society's activities and development, suggesting new venues and ideas for activities, as well as ensuring good communication and connections with Cypriot societies of other universities. Her use of Facebook is frequent, and involves status updates, picture uploads, comments on walls and other interactions.

Georgiana

Georgiana is a 20-year-old female from Paphos who has been a long-term member of the Society after her registration in the Society in 2006. She attends events organised by the Society; however this is not on a regular basis. She mainly socialises with people who live in the private halls in which she is staying but also maintains strong bonds with the people she studies with (some of which are members of the Society). Generally speaking, she does not socialize with members of the Society. She is also a frequent Facebook user.

Chrissie

Chrissie is a 19-year-old female from Nicosia who has registered in the Society in September 2008 during her first year of study at the university. Chrissie has developed an interest in the Society and in the 2009 election she was elected as the Society's 2009/10 Fresher's Director. Her duties involve the organisation of fares, promoting the Society to new students, welcoming freshers. Additionally, she contributes in the organisation of other Society events. She mainly socialises with people within the Society but also maintains close-contact with high-school friends studying in London. She is not a frequent Facebook user.

Michael

Lastly, Michael is a 22-year-old male from Nicosia. Michael has been a member of the Society since September 2007 when he first came to study in HEI University. For the 2008/09 and 2009/10 Michael held the position of the Society's Sports Officer and Vice President respectively. He is responsible for the organisation of football

matches, combined events with other Societies and similar to other committee members he is involved in all activities the Society engages in. He regularly attends events organised by the Society. He is not a very frequent user of Facebook. He mainly socialises with people that are members of the Society.

Eugene and Angela

In addition to the ten focal participants selected, two additional Society members were incorporated into the study - Eugene and Angela - and were interviewed ad-hoc as evidence in the recordings necessitated for the collection of interviews from the two members. Eugene is a British-Cypriot 21 year old female who first came to study at HEI in 2008. Eugene has lived in England until the age of ten. At the age of ten she and her family have permanently moved to Cyprus, where she went to School (English School) in Nicosia. Eugene has been a registered member of the Society since 2008. Angela is a British-Cypriot 20 year old female who commenced her study at HEI in 2008. She has been living in England but has permanently moved to Cyprus in 2005. Angela has registered to Society in 2008. Data collected from the two females only include interviews and are therefore considered to be additional participants.

The participants' general profiles are presented in the table below (table 4). The table includes information on participants' names, gender, nationality, position within the Society as well as a respondent code for each participant used as a reference code for interview extracts and diary entries throughout the thesis.

Respondent Code	Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Position
RES1	Alexandros	Male	22	CY	Committee
RES2	Adrianne	Female	21	CY	Committee
RES3	Thanos	Male	22	CY	Committee
RES4	John	Male	21	CY	Committee
RES5	Julius	Male	21	CY	Member
RES6	Eliza	Female	21	CY	Committee
RES7	Jennie	Female	20	CY	Member
RES8	Chrissie	Female	19	CY	Committee
RES9	Georgiana	Female	20	CY	Member
RES10	Michael	Male	22	CY	Committee
RES11	Eugene	Female	21	UK	Member
RES12	Angela	Female	20	UK	Member

Table 4
Participant Profiles

3.3.2 Types of Data

One of the aims of this study was to advance our understanding of CMC through the CoP lens and a focus on interactional practices (see section 1.1) the first set of data collected were Society circulated e-mails to the members. During an initial stage of data collection and before identifying focal participants, attention was drawn in collecting e-mails sent by the Society to its members. Society circulated e-mails form the basic platform of communication between the Society and its members and can be mainly categorized as general information-giving e-mails and invitation e-mails to the Society's organized events. Approximately 147 e-mails were collected between November 2007 and August 2010 which were analysed in terms of frequency and language use (see sections 4.2 and 4.3.1).

Once ethical approval has been granted by the university for the beginning of the data collection (see Appendix B1), focal participants were identified and focus was placed on gaining insights of their membership experience - including issues of engagement in the Society's practices and frequency, type and means of communication between the members - and as follows each one of the focal participants was interviewed. The fact that interviews form well known communication routines to most of the participants - that is, the question-answer structure of interviews was familiar to most of the participants – was an element that facilitated the process of obtaining information. The first two people interviewed were my first contact and Chair of the Society (Alexandros), and a participant with whom I have developed close contact (John). The rest of the participants were contacted through the snowballing method (snowballing for focal participant selection of people to be interviewed), that is referrals from the initial contacts generated additional participants. All interviews were conducted in familiar settings such as residences or campus sites. Eight out of ten interviews were conducted in the participants' halls of residence, while two interviews were conducted on campus at the HEI University of London. The interviews collected were semi-structured, in that the aim was to provide the respondents with the ability to share their point of view on the particular subject. In detail, all the respondents were asked set questions, designed and phrased ahead of time (See Appendix C1 for interview questions) according to the focus of the interview, allowing space for any questions or prompts that arose

naturally during the interview from any relevant information that the respondents provided.

In addition to the interviews, in October 2009 participant diaries were also collected. The diaries document participants' everyday practices (both offline and online) for a period of eight days. The diaries include information on the 'when-how' as well as with whom interpersonal interactions took place. Additionally, practices involving browsing in the internet were documented. Overall, nine diaries were collected as one of the participants (Georgiana) has failed to provide a diary with her daily practices due to the fact that she has moved away from the Society with her registration to a different university.

Considering that members of the Society made frequent use of the online social application Facebook, Wall threads between members have been collected. More precisely, data incorporated from Facebook are posts on the 'wall' facility and messaging application known as 'inbox'. The 'wall' facility on Facebook, referred to above, appears on each user's profile (unless access to other users is restricted), along with other information such as who your friends are and how many you have, and personal information regarding networks, birthdays, photos, location, religion and status. The 'wall' is visible to all of the user's friends, in which posts by other people and notifications are visible. The user's own posts sent to other people are not visible in their own profile, however these can be seen by friends who are common for both the sender and receiver of the post. The 'inbox' section is not visible to any other third parties. The threads collected involve interactions among members of the Society and more specifically among focal participants throughout their membership in the Society. Important to note here, is that interactions among these participants are for presentation and analysis purposes isolated in terms of sender-receiver of posts.

In addition, face-to-face recordings of Society members' casual interactions were collected. The recordings comprise of five casual talk recordings between members of close-knit groups. One of the recordings took place on campus and the remaining four in participants' halls of residence. Additionally, one recording of the Society's committee meetings was collected.

As it is by now evident, the data collected comprise of rather diverse data sets. The table below (table 5) exemplifies the different data sets employed for analysis in this research. Recognizing the need for more ethnographically driven analyses of CMC across space and time and in order to develop a more thorough examination of

interpersonal communication, membership identities and social relations within this community of practice data were drawn from as many of the participants' sites of engagement as possible.

Dataset	Type of data	Numbers	Duration
Dataset A	E-mails	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 147 Society E-mails - 4 Committee E-mail Exchanges - 6 Manifesto (applications for committee positions) E-mails 	November 2007 - August 2010 October 2009 – November 2009 March 2008, March 2009 and March 2010
Dataset B	Interviews	12 Interviews (2 of which were post hoc interviews)	March-May 2009 September 2010
Dataset C	Face-to-Face Recordings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 Committee meeting - 5 Casual close-knit group gatherings 	March 2009 October 2009-May 2010 <u>Overall Rec. time:</u> 04:05:31
Dataset D	Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 11 Wall threads - 1 Inbox thread 	November 2007- May 2010
Dataset E	Diaries	9 Diaries from focal Participants	October 2009 (8 day diaries)

Table 5
Data-sets: types, numbers and duration

Each of the research questions deals with different aspects of community membership and communication and therefore different data-sets were appropriated for the analysis (see Appendix B2).

3.4 Data Collection

Seemingly this type of research requires a type of qualitative analysis, allowing for a more in-depth analysis of the matter at hand. Such method of analysis provides an opportunity to the researcher to “uncover and record the unspoken common sense of the group” under study (Johnstone, 2000:82).

During an initial stage of data collection I have limited the process of data collection to a) persistent observation of the member's participation in computer-mediated interactions and to b) engagement in participant observation, so as to get a sense of what is happening and what it might mean. With regards to participant

observation, after first attending an event organized by the society in November 2007 I was introduced to various members of the society (among which the Chair who is my first contact) and exchanged telephone numbers, e-mails and Facebook usernames. After this very first time I regularly attended events by arranging with other members to meet up in such events. The events were regular and participant attendance varied from event to event. Notably, in frequently occurring situations, I was in regular contact and participated in events and gatherings that were not officially organized by the Society, but from core members (Committee) or groups formed within the Society (sub-communities/friendship networks). Such occurrences are seriously taken into consideration, as they provide evidence for the sites of engagement of the Society members as well as insights into the Society's structure as a community of practice where the positions of core and peripheral members might become relevant to issues of participation and engagement in practice and sub-group formations. Participant observation in the form that I described above was continuous until late stages of research. Regarding the CMC types of data collection, data gathered are mainly interactional encounters (threads) in Facebook's 'Wall', emails, posts, and a more general aspect of Facebook profiles, such as group membership, as well as the Society's website and e-mails. After becoming Facebook friends with the members who I met through the Society's events I logged in on Facebook every two days, and visited members' profile pages. I documented their posting on walls of other Society members and saved in Word files the one-to-one interactions that was found on Facebook Walls through the 'see wall-to-wall' facility. Notably, no three-way interactions were documented in the data.

In addition to these, since I was a registered member in the Society, the committee had access to my e-mail address, and therefore I was included in the members to which the Society was circulating e-mails. E-mails circulated from the Society's committee to the members were collected, so as to have a sense of their development and patterns throughout the academic year, and investigate whether content and style can be related to community development. The circulated e-mails are the official manner in which the Society represents itself to its members, and therefore they were worth looking in relation to the Society's activity development. From November 2007, I created a folder in which all the e-mails circulated from the Society since that time, were saved and organised by sending dates. Approximately 147 e-mails have been collected to the present day, dating from November 2007 to August 2010.

In a secondary phase, parallel to participant observation and the updating of online threads and my e-mail folder, which was carried out until August 2010, audio data such as recordings of peer-to-peer talk were collected; such data enabled an analysis of naturally-occurring conversations. Interviews were also collected from 10 focal participants between March-May 2009. To begin with, interviews constituted a source of gaining information about membership experience, member relations as well as information on mutual engagement. The participants interviewed have been identified to hold different roles and positions within the Society. The interviews collected were semi-structured interviews conducted in an informal setting and manner. The interviews amount to 2 hours and 40 minutes of recording time. At a subsequent stage a recorder was given to participants that have shown through the interviews to form sub-groups. Such classification was not imposed by the researcher, but was rather facilitated through an interview question that asked the participants to identify their friends. Reciprocal naming of each other was an indication of this. As mentioned above, sub-groups identified were given a recorder, and were asked to record everyday casual talk among themselves. Notably the tape recorder was given to two groups, as any more recordings of everyday interactions of additional sub-groups would amount to massive sets of data difficult to process. The recording of regular interactions collected in rather more relaxed circumstances, rather than that of interviews and committee meetings, brought to the fore insights of the kinds of things that bring them together as a group and as members of a Society. The recordings began early October 2009 and were provided to each group for about ten days. Additionally, one meeting has been recorded in March 2009, in which committee members discussed about the organisation of events and elections. The researcher was allowed to be present and record the meeting, as the Chair, my first contact, informed the other members about my attendance, to which they had no objection. Even though two committee members were absent, they were later on briefed via telephone communication.

Lastly, the chosen focal informants were asked to collect data on behalf of the researcher. Participants were asked to document, in the form of a diary, their time spent online and how much of that is spent on Facebook daily (collection of threads, especially with members with whom the researcher has no profile access, and access to the Inbox), frequency of communication with other members, types of communication, people they communicate with and in what ways etc. The

participants were asked to document their communicative activities in a diary form for approximately eight days in different time intervals; even though the goal was to collect diaries in two different time intervals, a week towards the end of the academic year (April 2009) and a week during the beginning of the academic year (October 2009), practical implications did not allow for such action (i.e. when in April 2009 participants were asked to document their communications, they were hesitant to carry out such documenting in that time period due to exam pressures). Therefore, the participants were asked to document their communicative activities in the beginning of the 2009/10 academic year (mid-October) for eight days. Overall, the diaries provided information on the extent and type of communication that characterizes members' uses and interpersonal relations. Information gathered from the diaries was used in the analysis of Society members' communication choices as resource and how types of communication relate to member links.

The data gathered provided answers to processes of apprenticeship, underlying processes of group formation, in-group networks and lastly how such processes come across media.

3.5 Methods of Data Analysis

As previously stated (see section 2.2) I draw on micro-interactional analysis as the main analytic tool for the analysis of naturally occurring conversations; an approach that focuses on the organization of talk and identity-oriented and category-bound activities, so as to uncover the presence, role and consequences of linguistic devices in the construction of group identity. It is proposed that such analysis provides “ways of ‘stepping back’ from the taken-for-granted in order to uncover the interactional processes that constitute common sense and everyday practice” (Rampton et. al., 2004:7). Additionally, such an approach for the analysis of the data in this project seems most suitable as it makes no intentionalist assumptions about identity; it does not “assume an underlying self who brings about the actions accomplished in interaction”, but rather focuses on actions within interaction to explain what identities become relevant for the interaction at hand” (Widdicombe, 1998a, cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:69).

Recordings of casually occurring interactions (face-to-face recordings) collected were looked at with a focus on the ways in which participants orient to particular membership identities, roles and positions and the resources drawn upon to achieve the goals at hand. Face-to-face recordings were approached through the lens of an interactionally informed analysis. More precisely, with regards to interaction involving Committee members the focus was placed on positioning as a form of participation in interaction depending on Society related roles. Similarly, use of categories that are linked to role-dependent activities and characteristics were the focus of the analysis looking into member positions and forms of participation within the Society. The analysis of the taken-for-granted background ethnic identifications in interactions that underlie the negotiation of membership in the Society depend on both meaning assessments as well as constantly negotiated and renegotiated interpersonal relationships by means of signalling processes through which content is assessed. Data drawn from members' Facebook communication were similarly approached.

The interviews were looked at content-wise, in order to see how claims in interviews support other evidence, as well as how such information gives new insights to the theoretical approach of CoP and networking in analysing community relationships. The collection of semi-structured interviews from participants were analysed within the framework of content analysis. Content analysis can generally be described as a language-focused analysis that may be qualitative (discourse phenomena of a text sample made, illustrated and discussed) or quantitative (phenomena coded and counted, as well as relative frequencies given) (Herring, 2004:5). This method of text analysis has been developed within the influence of mass media and international politics and was initially preoccupied with printed texts (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter, 2000:55). During the 1980s the focus of content analysis shifted towards the analysis of qualitative aspects of texts rather than quantitative (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter, 2000). Surely the focus of content analysis may be placed on sign-vehicle content analysis or semantical analysis (Krippendorff, 2004:45). For the purposes of this research the latter type of content analysis is endorsed, and more specifically thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a process of encoding qualitative information that can be further translated to quantitative data (Boyatzis, 1998:4). The codes required for such analysis may be a list of themes (unifying meaning connecting what is said as being relevant for the

question) - generated inductively or deductively - that are found in the information, and describe and organise the observations and interpret aspects of the phenomenon (Boyatzis, 1998). With respect to this study, the data analysed were the semi-structured interviews. The entire interview was divided into three major topics, while the interview questions were taken up as categories as seen in the figure 2 below⁵. The categorisation of interviews into three different topics and interview questions into categories was a necessary starting point and in alignment with the research questions (see section 1.1). However, such categorisation functions as a heuristic device rather than an a priori judgement of possible findings.

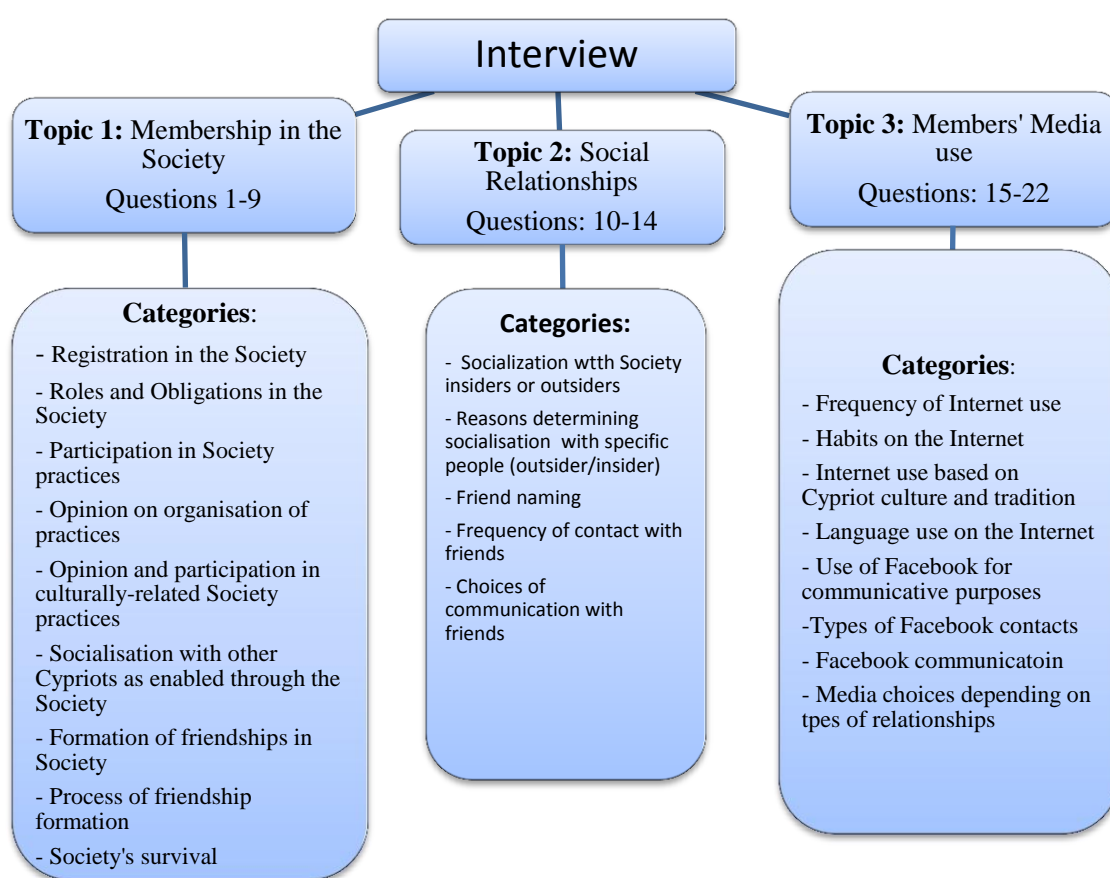


Figure 2
Interview topics and categories

The themes that emerged from the interview were data driven (inductive themes) through the process of open coding. Initially, three randomly selected interviews

⁵ See Appendix C for the numbered list of interview questions.

conducted with Alexandros, Thanos and Eliza were coded. Issues mentioned in each category questions were noted and then compared between the three interviews. A number of issues raised by the participants themselves in answering the interview questions were shown to correlate in all three interviews. These were taken up as themes emerging from the participants' experiences. Themes that emerged from these interviews were collected and subsequently axial coding was conducted, that is the remaining interviews were compared with the identified themes (see section 4 for a map of themes related to membership). Such analysis of themes in participants' interviews allowed for the piecing together of information that to an extent may form a thorough depiction of participants' views, beliefs and collective experiences.

Sites of computer mediated communication such as e-mails form some of the main vehicles of communication for the students under discussion. In this case, an interactionally informed analysis seemed suitable for analysing how community and social identities become co-articulated in computer mediated discourse, as this area of linguistics, is concerned with how we build up meaning in the larger communicative units such as texts, paragraphs or even conversational threads. In the case of Society e-mail data, these were coded in terms of language choice in two different categories: subject heading and main text. Additionally, the content of the Society e-mails was categorised into topics after careful checks for recurrent content/practices advertised in the e-mails. Topics emerged from the actual data rather than being imposed. Committee e-mail exchanges were looked at in terms of 'positioning' moves shaped by participants' Society roles. More precisely, the use of imperative, use of inclusive 'we' and claims related to Society positions were given emphasis in the analysis.

The emphasis placed on the role of context in interactionally informed studies is of crucial importance for the analysis of member interactions of the particular student Society. Generally speaking, context can be described as "a world filled with people producing utterances" - it is about people with social, cultural and personal identities, knowledge, beliefs, goals and needs who interact with each other in various socially and culturally defined situations; in this manner, context is positioned as the surrounding structure of a text, which provides resources for appropriate interpretation (Schiffrin, 1994, cited in Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, 2004:17). In connection to the concept of context, the notions of contextualisation cues and inference are useful tools. Contextualisation cues describe "any verbal sign which when processed in co-occurrence with grammatical and lexical signs serves to

construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation” (Gumperz, 1999:461). Such contextualising strategies are mostly signalled by indirect inferencing, which depends on the negotiation and renegotiation of interpersonal relationships through the same signalling processes by which content is assessed (Gumperz, 1999: 463). Inferences become the missing links that help interlocutors make explicit connections between utterances and enable the negotiation of meanings and their interpretation, which is nevertheless continually readjusted in the string of interactions (Brown and Yule, 2004; Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, 2004).

However, expressing such qualities of communication does not quite grasp the interactional complexities that occur in discourse situations: a speaker’s representation and understandings may be quite different to what is a hearer’s understanding and representation, as each individual understands and interprets what is uttered based on their own views and beliefs about the world. Although it is true that individuals do not tend to look at the same regularities, a considerable aspect of group membership should be taken into account. The smaller the community, the more notions of regularity will be shared, as the contexts that the members of such community share will be very similar (Brown and Yule, 2004:62). When people become members of a group, their interactional encounters are affected to some extent by the members’ susceptibility to mutual influence during the process, which in extent shapes the ‘how and what’ it is they do by means of engagement in interpersonal and communicative practice (Hargie and Dickson, 2004:404). Considering the different sets of data collected for this project, I believe that the employment of an interactional analysis approach to discourse is a fruitful method for the analysis of such data (see chapter.

The blending of different parameters of what identity management in different media involves, was captured through the accumulation of all these diverse sets of data and employment of ethnographically based methods of data collection, which in extent provided valid answers to the research questions set out in this study (see chapter 8 for a discussion on usefulness of methods). Undeniably, employing a worm’s eye view is a crucial feature of interactional analysis, as it goes in line with the micro-analysis aimed at in this work. In detail, this type of research focuses on the locality of interaction as social action and how participants are oriented to the interaction at hand, invoking larger ‘macro’ identities and the social order of things.

3.6 Reflective account on the Collection and Analysis of Data

Undeniably, as with any qualitative research, the researcher is responsible for a) “initiating, arranging and carrying out the ongoing business of data collection, analysis and interpretation of data”, and b) “taking responsibility for making and maintaining relationships with research participants” (Le Compte *et al.*, 1999:4).

During the early stages of my research I considered it important to explore the Society I was about to study, what it was about and the activities around which it revolved. As part of this effort I attended one or two events prior to the beginning of the research. Attendance to events allowed me to establish connections with other members but mostly to maintain a good relationship with my first contact, the Society’s Chair. As the research progressed, the specific research questions were established, and this very fact determined some of the relations and connections that had to be made and maintained. Therefore, an effort was made to create contact and good relations with committee members, as well as newcomers and long-term members. Although that proved to be slightly difficult in the sense that people began to form their own close-knit groups, my initial contact and Chair of the Society facilitated the process by introducing me to various members, by making reference firstly to my status as a member and secondly as a person who conducts research involving the particular Society. Once introductions were made I exchanged telephone numbers and became friends with most people on Facebook, and with some even on MSN Messenger. My attendance to the events caused me to be a familiar face to most members. Even though all the members were informed that I was collecting data from CMC sites and more specifically Facebook, they did not seem to be bothered by, or object to, such practice. They often joked about my being a ‘Facebook stalker’ but their attitude towards the research ended to that. Reflecting back on the process of researcher-participant familiarity, the way in which the data collection process began seems crucially important. During the early stages of research, my relationship with the members was a bit loose and my decision of not wishing to disturb people who did not know me very well was wise. To be more precise, I realised that before collecting the interviews and recordings, the members had to be at ease with my presence; a goal achieved through my regular attendance to the events and socialising with both newcomers and old-timers.

Having that in mind, I limited myself to collecting data from Facebook and e-mails that the Society was circulating to its members. Therefore, in this way there was no direct interference with the members' lives and no intrusion on their social practices, as the data were discreetly gathered, with the researcher's actions not being 'visible' to the participants. Admittedly, while Facebook data were collected, I often found myself adopting a role that reflected both a member and researcher identity. As Facebook was appearing to be an additional means of communication between the members – besides interpersonal contact – I often aimed to, on the one hand strengthen communication with members I was socialising with offline, and on the other hand establish some grounds of communication with members I did not know very well, by initiating interactions on Facebook. Such actions were affected by my effort to break down the barrier between researcher and participants, and by my effort to initiate contact, which in the future could possibly develop into a thread that could be used for analysis. At the same time, being a member of the Society necessitated my behaving as one in terms of communicative practices. In this sense, having an interactional thread on Facebook, posting links or even commenting on photos constituted my presence on Facebook and my identity as an 'active member'. As follows, the collection of threads in Facebook was rather troublesome.

With regards to other types of data collection, such as interviews, the participants were aware of the activity taking place and the discursive roles necessitated for an interview and therefore the interviews were carried out with no implications. An important point to be made here is that throughout the interviews, more often than not the participants made reference to other individuals by either referring to their first names or to their place of residence without distinguishing explicitly who they were. The participants assumed that I, as a member of the Society, would know whom they were referring to. My identity as a member of the Society was still a fact acknowledged during the interviews parallel to the interviewer identity that I was projecting in the particular situation. With this in mind, one can assume that this acknowledgement facilitated participants to express and share their point of view about their membership in the Society, experiences and practices. This assumption can be said to hold true for the recording of committee meetings. Although I was present in the meeting, I chose to be a silent observer, which allowed the participants to deal with the issues of the meeting, as well as to talk about other issues and people, and chat and joke around. In this case, I believe that what was recorded and observed

was an instance of what would normally occur in any other meetings that were not recorded.

It goes without saying that my identity as a researcher and a Society member were at interplay throughout the data collection process and the analysis and interpretation of data. With regards to the latter, it must be admitted that my experience of being a member and my familiarity with the Society, its members and practices resulted in the justification for issues that were not shown so clearly in the data. However it is believed that the analysis of all different sets of data illuminated the picture and justifications made were validated. What is more, my identity and experience as a member could be considered as a positive asset since it stimulates the investigation of issues that would otherwise not be noticed. Le Compte *et al.* (1999:8) note that “Many of the hunches or ideas that researchers have about what they observe and that they use to begin analysis and interpretation of results, do, in fact, come from their own personal interests and preferences, as well as from their theoretical perspectives”.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY-MAKING PROCESSES ACROSS TIME AND SPACE: MEDIATED COMMUNICATION IN ESTABLISHING BONDS

4. Introduction

Napier and Gershenfeld support that membership describes the quality of the relationship between the individual and the group; that is, groups are defined in terms of their members (Napier and Gershenfeld, 1981:75). Research on communication within and organizational behaviour in small groups maintains the view that a sense of shared purpose and engagement in practice to achieve the goals through regular contact are one of the most important properties of community formation (cf. Wheelan, Davidson and Tilin, 2003, Bonito and Sanders 2011, Douglas, 1993). Structural elements such as domain, community and practice define the identity, formation and maintenance of the group. The aspect of practice is given great prominence in the Cypriot Society, through the regular organization of events which facilitate both the development of community and communication. If individuals are attracted to a group, they are likely to accept membership responsibilities by attending meetings more regularly and participating more readily in those (Napier and Gershenfeld, 1981: 100-101).

In general, membership in a community and communication among members is not something rigid or an equable process that is merely affirmed by registration to the Society. Such processes take time. Higher or lesser degree of communication and different facilitating contexts for engagement in practice for defining community identity, might characterize different periods of time throughout membership and community of formation. Wenger (1998:3) distinguishes five stages of development – potential, coalescing, active, dispersed and memorable – characterized by not only different levels of interaction among a community's members but also different kinds of activities that define each stage (see Section 3.2.1 for a discussion on the Society's stages of development). Surely, within any stage of community development, communication as the very means through which community formation and/or reformation becomes possible, is bound to be utilized in all its available forms, both offline and online (Napier and Gershenfeld, 1981:96). When members of a group communicate, either face-to-face, through telephone or computer technologies, they

engage in an “inherently social act”; a social act of communication, which serves as the vehicle of a group’s collective action (Paollillo, 2002:1).

Having said that, and taking into consideration that CoP develop around issues that matter to people, and that the practices that revolve around those issues reflect the members’ own understanding of what is important (Wenger, 1998:2), this chapter sets out to map the process of (re)formation of the Greek-Cypriot student Society by addressing issues such as:

- a) What are the key elements that allow the (re)formation of this student Society?
- b) What is the process of community making formation for members in this student Society? And
- c) How is mediation used by members in the community making process?

It is assumed that the process of becoming a member of a group is likely to be linked with increased participation in social practices - amongst which is communication – that are part of a group’s membership qualities. The analysis focused on data obtained from Facebook, e-mails, diaries and interviews.

E-mails were quantitatively analysed in terms of frequency as well as in terms of language use. In detail, the analysis focused on language choice both in subject headings and e-mail body as well as on e-mail topics. In addition, strategies of expressing group solidarity were investigated through the use of greetings and closings in Society e-mails.

The interview extracts analysed in section 4.1 and 4.1.1 deal with one of the three interview topics, that of ‘membership in the Society’ (see section 3.5 for interview topics). Interview questions were taken up as categories through which various themes associated with membership evolved (see section 3.5 for thematic analysis of interviews). The themes were made relevant by and were recurrent in the participants’ answers. Themes that emerged regarding Society membership and on which the discussion in section 4.1.1 revolves can be seen in the figure (figure 3) below depicting category questions and themes associated with each category.

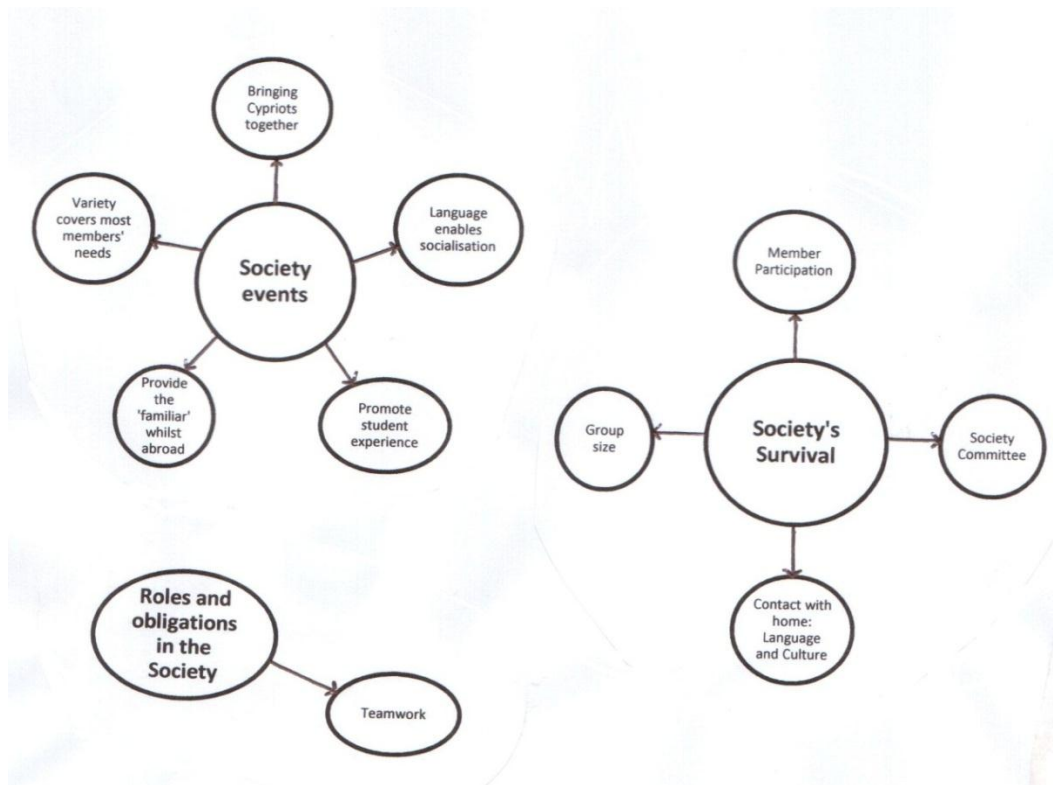


Figure 3
Categories and Themes of the 'Society membership' interview topic

The participants' diaries were thematically coded and themes were pre-decided. In detail, after the participants were asked to document all sorts of interactions for a period of eight days, a search for 'society related communication' was conducted. The search involved documented communication across media for Society related purposes. Finally, interactional analysis informed the analysis of Facebook threads, which were looked at with a focus on the development of community bonds. In detail, the focus was on intimacy markers such as nicknames, pronoun use, nicknames and diminutives as these are recognised as enhancing social proximity and solidarity (cf. Lytra, 2003, Sifianou, 2000).

Section 4.1 deals with a definition of the Society's joint enterprise and participants' perceptions that have emerged from the interviews regarding community bonds. Section 4.2 focuses on the circulation of Society e-mails and how the frequency of these e-mails is influenced by the developmental stage the Society has achieved. In Section 4.3 emphasis is placed on e-mails as the Society's main vehicle of communication with its members. The analysis focuses on the process behind the organization of Society events, the social factors influencing the production of e-mail discourse and the e-mail content appropriated to serve the Society's mutual

endeavour. In the final sub-section the Society's website is looked at in terms of text and visual information as modes of representation of Society practices. Section 4.4 focuses on Facebook communication and more precisely, the emphasis lies on linguistic devices such as teasing, pronoun use (possessives) and addressing devices (nicknames and diminutives) and their association with the development of member links.

The findings suggest that the Society's e-mail circulation regarding events reflects the stages of development that the Society undergoes throughout an academic year. The interview analysis brought to the fore participants' perceptions of Society membership and the ways in which they associate such with social expansiveness and contact. Finally, the analysis of Facebook threads indicates that the use of intimacy markers such as nicknames, pronoun use and diminutives can be juxtaposed with the development of communication and the formation of links among members.

4.1 The Society's structural elements

Communities of Practice (CoP) take many forms, from small to big, collocated to distributed, unrecognized to institutionalized. They may be organized along friendship lines or within local geographical contexts (Wenger, McDermott, Snyder, 2002:13), but without intentional cultivation, CoP are unlikely to flourish, develop practices, repertoires and even relationships among participants. In the interviews conducted with members of the Society (See Section 3.3.2 for details) elements such as domain, community and practice were found to be of crucial importance for the Society's formation. As a member of the Society's committee stated in an interview, the Greek-Cypriot Society focuses on promoting the student life of Cypriot students.

Extract 4.1

Question: 'When you said that you talk with other Universities, do you mean that you have connections with other Universities?'

Participant: RES4: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/2009 Fresher's Director, 2009/2010 Events/sports Officer

1. Ναι, επειδή σκοπός του society εννεν μόνο να προωθήσει, σκοπός του Cypriot
2. Society είναι να προωθήσει την φοιτητική ζωή τσiai να προ- τσiai να προσφέρει
3. στους φοιτητές του, δηλαδή στους Κύπριους φοιτητές, επειδή εν Cypriot Society
4. μιαν καλή φοιτητική εμπειρία. Αρμοδιότητα όμως δεν είναι μόνο να την
5. προωθήσουμε στο πανεπιστήμιο μόνο αλλά να προωθήσουμε την φοιτητική ζωή σε
6. όλο το Λονδίνο που απαραίτητως σημαίνει ότι πρέπει να 'μαστε σε επαφή και με τα

7. αλλα Cypriot Societies.

1. [= Yes, because the Society's goal is not only to promote,
2. the Society's goal is to promote the student living and off- and offer to his
3. students , that is to the Cypriot students, because it's a Cypriot Society, a
4. good student experience. Our responsibility is not only to promote it
5. at the university but promote student life in London in general which
6. necessarily means that we have to be in contact with other Cypriot
7. Societies.]

(Dataset B, 01/03/09, Interview A)

The domain (joint enterprise) may range from everyday mundane know-how to very specific fields. Such a set of issues mentioned in the extract may not necessarily be officially recognized as domains, but it may, however, form a domain for the people who are members of, or are attracted to membership in, the Society. Clearly, what is mentioned in the extract above (lines 1-4), is what members regard as 'mutual endeavor', since the official goals of the Society, as outlined in the Society's constitution in their website (See Appendix A1 for the Society's Constitution), do not directly refer to such. An actual domain in this case would be a social space or field in which the members as well as the student Society belong, which in extent determines their conditions of action. Bourdieu (1985:725) proposes that

“The form that is taken, at every moment, in each social field, [...] determines the actual or potential powers within the different fields and the chances of access to the specific profits that they offer”.

Within a foreign social space, individuals create groupings and seek venues allowed to develop their practice. The student Union of HEI University, as an organizing structure, provides the opportunity to all the students to form 'societies' and be part of those, according to their personal interests (e.g. Dance Society, Cardiology Society). “On the basis of knowledge of the space of positions, one can separate out *classes*, sets of agents who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions and subjected to similar conditionings, have every likelihood of having similar dispositions and interests and therefore of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances” (Bourdieu, 1985:725). Following Bourdieu's argument, we can claim that the members of the Society are 'being placed in similar conditions (studying in a host country) and subjected to similar conditionings', such as the need to connect with other Cypriots, and in extent 'adopt similar stance and produce similar practices' (engagement in practice within/through the society). The domain, which

for each member might range from the need for connectivity with other ethnics to enjoyable student experience, may not be easily articulated by members but whatever creates this common ground (καλή φοιτητική εμπειρία στους Κύπριους φοιτητές) is the reason for its existence. As a newly formed community, the Society's practices were the result of one person's initiatives⁶ which through time and experience, from a rather relatively leader-centred group evolved into a community in which decisions and organization were commonly negotiated to serve member needs. At the beginning, the Society began as a group of people with similar interests, interested in forming a community and with time it began to realize its potential as a well-organized community, whose goals and objectives were negotiated among the members. The examples below give an indication of the importance of participation and mutual engagement - central elements in a community of practice – in deciding any course of actions. All five of the Committee members who were interviewed made relevant the theme of collaboration and all five collocated the word team and teamwork ('ομάδα', 'ομαδικά') with responsibilities in the category-question 'your responsibilities in the committee'. The interview question(s) were taken up as categories focusing on different membership aspects; participants' experiences, denotations and associations that were recurrently made relevant in their answers were categorized into themes (see section 3.5 for thematic analysis).

Extract 4.2

Question: What are your responsibilities in the Society and with what other issues are you pre-occupied within the Society?

Participant: RES6: Eliza, 20 year old female, Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/2009 Treasurer

1. Εε κοίταξε γενικά σαν στόχους μας έχουμε το ότι, η διαφορά μας με άλλα Societies
2. Εν ότι κάποιοι όμιλοι οι αρμοδιότητες που έχουν εν οι συγκεκριμένες τσiai κρατούν
3. τες τσιείνες. Εμείς γενικά επειδή είμαστε σαν ομάδα παραπάνω φιλική βλέπουμεν το
4. ότι συνεργαζόμαστε, οπότεν ντάξει [...]⁷.

1. [= Eee look, generally our goals are, our difference with other Societies is that
2. some other Societies have set out specific responsibilities and they keep those.
3. In general, we, because we are more of a team of friends, we consider that it's
4. more of a cooperation, so ok [...]

(Dataset B, 09/05/09, Interview F)

⁶ Eliza, has disclosed (during an informal and non-recorded meeting) that the Society was reactivated in 2006 by an initiative from a Cypriot male student in his last year of studies. The young male had approached various individuals to whom he had assigned Committee positions.

⁷ The symbol [...] used within the extracts indicates to additional text not included in the extract.

Extract 4.3

Question: What are your responsibilities in the Society and with what other issues are you pre-occupied with in the Society?

Participant: RES2: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 Vice President

1. Εεε γενικά όμως ο καθένας έχει τις δικές του αρμοδιότητες μέσ'το Society αλλά εμ
 2. δεν μένουμε αυστηρώς στο τι- στα καθήκοντα που... που έχει να κάνει ο καθένας, ας
 3. πούμε το βλέπουμε πιο ομαδικά, οπότεν στην ουσία το τι έχουμε να κάνουμε όλοι.
-
1. [= Ee generally speaking each one of us has his own responsibilities within the
 2. *Society but we don't strictly limit ourselves to the duties that...each one of us*
 3. *has, lets say we view this more as in-group, so in essence what we have to do*
 4. *we all do it.*]

(Dataset B, 06/04/09, Interview C)

Evidently, participation as a process of active involvement and a process of giving form to this by engaging in the production of practices, is a major element through which the smooth operation and organization of the Society is achieved. Despite any engagement in the Society's actual practices, the committee's organized meetings not only involve but also encourage communication for the achievement of the specified goals and the maintenance of 'active' communication, characteristic of their social relations. In the example of the Society meeting annotation (Appendix G2), all the members engage in an exchange of ideas about what the Society should and should not do, what would be beneficial for members and what not.

4.1.1 Members' perceptions of community bonds

A group of people facing similar problems does not constitute a Community of practice, but this common ground is what brings them together, defines the identity of the community and the value of its achievements to members and others (Wenger, McDermott, Snyder, 2002:31). In this vein, the identity of the Society depends on the importance of 'what matters' to the Society's members. When asked about what keeps the Society alive as a force, participants interviewed shared the view that what keeps the Society together are its members' needs to feel in contact with home, to connect with other people from Cyprus as well as the organization of events and participation in such. In detail, five out of ten of participants made relevant in their answers the theme of 'contact with home' and frequently linked the words 'home', 'similar environment' and 'same background' with the category-question 'Society's survival/success' (see Appendix C3 for extracts and section 4.1 for categories and

themes). Two of the participants' answers revolved around the theme of 'participation and contact' while one of the participants based her answer on the theme of 'group size'. The two following examples are characteristic of the members' views.

Extract 4.4

Question: What in your opinion is it that keeps this particular Society alive?

Participant: RES3: Thanos, 22 year old male, Society's 2009-2010 Web Officer

1. Νομίζω αναφέρθηκα τσαι λίο πριν, εν η η ανάγκη εμάς στο να κρατήσουμε
2. ζωντανή κάποια επαφή με το σπίτι, τούτο που θεωρούμε εμείς ως σπίτι,
3. τούτο που θεωρούμε ως γνώριμο, τσαι εν το περιβάλλον στο οποίο είμαστε
4. πιο άνετοι. [...] Είναι, είναι τσαι πάλι η επαφή με άλλους Κύπριους, διότι
5. ξέρουμε την νοοτροπία τους, ξέρουμε ότι εν να καταλάβουν τα αστεία που εν να
6. κάμουμε [...] τούτο που κρατά τον όμιλο ζωντανό εκτός που τούτην την ανάγκη
7. εν κυρίως η πολλή δουλειά τσαι κυρίως η μεγάλη θέληση που έχουν κάθε χρόνο
8. τα μέλη της επιτροπής, ότι σε τσιείνους, που τσιείνους εξαρτούνται ούλλα, τσαι
9. σε τσιείνους χρωστούμε το ότι έχουμε κάποιο όμιλο, στα μέλη που κατά καιρό
10. ενδιαφερότηκαν

1. [= I think I have mentioned this earlier on, it is our need to maintain alive
2. some sort of contact with home, what we consider as home, what we consider as
3. familiar and it's the environment in which we are more comfortable. [...]
4. again our contact with other Cypriots, because we know their mentality, we
5. know that they are going to understand our jokes [...] what keeps the Society
6. alive alive besides this need, is mostly the hard work and will that the committee
7. members have each year; to them, everything depends on them, and it is to them
8. that we owe it that we do have a Society, and to the members that at times
9. were interested in the Society.]

(Dataset B, 13/05/09, Interview G)

Extract 4.5

Question: What in your opinion is it that keeps this particular Society alive?

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

1. Νομίζω η παρουσία του κόσμου, ηηηη τοοοο η επιθυμία του να συμμετέχει
2. τσαι να να τσαι να μας συμβουλεύει ως προς τι θα ήθελε να κάμουμε τσαι το
3. ότι σαν σαν society λειτουργά, υπάρχει, εεε διοργανώνει events, επικοινωνά με
4. τον κόσμο, μιλά με τον κόσμο, εεε παρέχει για του για τους φοιτητές. Εάν ένα
5. society ας πούμεν ήταν νεκρό τσαι εν έκαμνε τίποτε, τότε εν θα υπήρχε ώθηση
6. στους φοιτητές να συμμετέχουν, ούτε θα ηθέλαν ας πούμεν να, ούτε θα υπήρχε,
7. εν θα υπήρχε τίποτε

1. [= I think it is peoples presence, their desire to participate and and advice us as
2. to what they would like us to do and the fact that as a Society it operates, it
3. exists, ee it organizes events, it communicates with members, it talks to members,
4. ee it exists for the students. If a society was dead for example, and it did not do
5. anything, there wasn't going to be any motivation from the students' part to
6. participate, and would not want to- it wouldn't exist, there would be nothing.]

(Dataset B, 03/03/09, Interview B)

Examples 4.4 and 4.5 refer to the issues that define ways of doing things that attract members to the Society. At the same time however, example 4.5 more directly addresses the issue of engagement in practice, and gives indications that action in terms of organization and communication with members is what holds the Society together; action without communication and vice versa would not be possible to hold the Society together. In more detail, practice as the enactment of knowledge of members' needs, in terms of the organization of events, information giving and support becomes the means through which interaction flourishes and develops. When the participants interviewed were asked to share what they thought about the events organized by the Society, most members were pleased with the organization of the events, as those appeared to be satisfying their needs. What is more, success in the group's achievement of goals seemed to be a beneficial factor in the spread of interactions among members (Douglas, 1993:26).

Extract 4.6

Question: Could you tell me what your opinion is about these events?

Participant: RES8: Chrissie, 20 year old female, Society's 2009-2010 Fresher's Director

1. Νομίζω ότι καταφέρνουν με ένα τρόπο να κρατούν, να κρατούν επαφή οι φοιτητές
 2. του πανεπιστημίου επειδή ειδικά στο HEI είμαστε χωρισμένοι σε τρία campuses
 3. τσιαι εν βλέπουμε ο ένας τον άλλο, άρα εγώ εν θα 'χα επαφή με κάποιους που
 4. πένουν (name of campus) επειδή είμαι (name of campus). Έτσι με τούντον τρόπο
 5. κρατούμε μιαν επαφή
-
1. [= I think that they manage in a way to keep, the students of the university to
 2. keep contact because especially in HEI we are split into three campuses and
 3. we don't see each other, so I wouldn't have any contact with people studying at
 4. (name of campus) because I study at (name of campus). So, in this way we are able
 5. to maintain some contact.]

(Dataset B, 19/05/09, Interview H)

Extract 4.7

Question: Has your membership in the Society offered you the opportunity to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?

Participant: RES2: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 Vice President

1. Βασικά όλα τα άτομα που εεε όλοι οι φίλοι που έχω κάνει και όλα τα άτομα που
 2. κοινωνικοποιούμαι μέχρι και σήμερα τα γνώρισα μέσω του ομίλου.
-
1. [=Basically, all the people that e- all the friends I have and all the people I socialize

2. *with to this day, I have met through the Society.]*

(Dataset B, 06/04/09, Interview C)

In example 4.6 Chrissie refers to the events organized by the Society - ‘να κρατούν επαφή...με τούντον τρόπο κρατούμε μιαν επαφή’- as situations that allow interpersonal contact. As Napier and Gershenfeld rightfully propose, a member’s participation in this give-and-take process, getting to know other members and forming friendships, as a by-product of membership, these make the community more attractive (Napier and Gershenfeld, 1981:96). The realization of members’ satisfaction and desire for acceptance is critical for a community’s survival, and therefore any community will organize itself in such a way in order to cover if not all, at least most of their members’ wants; The interview extract below, from an interview with the Society’s Chair is of the ways in which the Society organizes practices in an effort to satisfy its members.

Extract 4.8

Question: Could you tell me what your opinion is about the events organized by the Society?

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society’s 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

1. Ααα! Προσπαθούμε να έχουμε...πολλές τσiai διάφορες εκδηλώσεις. Ποικίλες
2. εκδηλώσεις. Βασικά να μην συγκεντρώνουμε μόνο, να μην συγκεντρωθούμε μόνο
3. π.χ. πάνω σε clubs, σε πάρτυ ή π.χ. πάνω σε, μόνο σε αθλητικά, σε αθλητικά events
4. επειδή έσκει πολλά μέλη μέσα στο συμβούλιο τσiai ο καθένας έσκει τες δικές του
5. προτιμήσεις εεε πολλές φορές μπορεί να οργανώσουμε δύο ή τρία events κοντά
6. κοντά χωρίς να ανησυχούμε ότι ξέρεις το ένα εν να επηρεάσει το άλλο που θέμα ο
7. κόσμος να λέει εν ημπορώ να’ ρτω τσiai στα θκυό επειδή ο κόσμος του ενός εν
8. διαφορετικός κάποτε που τον κόσμο του άλλου...

1. [*= Aaa! We try to have...a lot of different events. Various events.*
2. *Basically (we try) not to focus merely on, not to focus merely on club or parties for*
3. *example, or on sports, on sports events for example, because there are a lot of*
4. *members in the Committee and each one has their own preferences and on many*
5. *occasions we may organize two or three events close to each other without having to*
6. *worry that one might affect the other in the sense that people will not be saying that*
7. *they can’t come to both, because the people of one event are sometimes different from*
8. *the people of the other]*

(Dataset B, 03/03/09, Interview B)

However, supporting that the Society aims to satisfy all of its members needs would mean that one is romanticizing the Society’s value to its members. One of the

interviewees' opinions on the Society's events reflected that the Society's practices do not have the same effect on all of its members' needs.

Extract 4.9

Question: Could you tell me what your opinion is about the events organized by the Society?

Participant: RES9: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member.

1. Μερικές φορές φαίνονται μου ανοργάνωτες λίγο, αλλά φαντάζομαι έχουν τσισαι
2. έλλειψη χρόνου τα πλάσματα. Τσισαι γενικώς σαν να μεν λαμβάνουν υπόψη τους ας
3. πούμε τα ενδιαφέροντα όλων μας ας πούμε, απλώς να ικανοποιηθούν κάποιων
4. συγκεκριμένων ας πούμεν.

1. [*= Sometimes they seem a bit disorganized, but I imagine they lack the time.*
2. *And generally it is as if they don't take into consideration lets say the things that*
3. *are of interest to all of us; they only satisfy those of specific*
4. *people lets say.]*

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

Interestingly however, the very same participant stated that the cases in which she does not attend the events organized by the Society are quite rare.

Extract 4.10

Question: How often do you participate in the events organized by the Society?

Participant: RES9: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member.

1. Αρκετά συχνά μπορώ να πω, τες παραπάνω φορές. Κατ' αρχήν πολλά σπάνια δεν
2. πάω ας πούμε.

1. [*= Quite often I can say; most of the times. It is only rarely that*
2. *I don't go.]*

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

Even though this member is not entirely satisfied with the organized events, at the same time she is participating in the Society's events. Georgiana appears to choose participation and what that buys for her over her feeling of dissatisfaction with the ways in which events are organized (See Section 6.4 for a discussion on Georgiana's forms and degrees of membership).

Practice organizes knowledge of the domain in a way that is especially useful to practitioners because it reflects their perspective (Wenger, McDermott, Snyder, 2002:39) and in some way defines membership as the perception by an individual of their relationship to the group (Napier and Gershenfeld, 1981:76). Practice then can be seen as a way for the Society to make visible its goals and objectives.

Another interesting view shared by most of the participants as a factor enabling and facilitating communication among members, as well as an indicator of group identity construction, is the element of shared language and culturally specific ideology. The following examples exemplify the centrality that members attribute to common culture, tradition and even more to language.

Extract 4.11

Question: Has your membership in the Society offered you the opportunity to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?

Participant: RES6: Eliza, 20 year old female, Society's 2007/2008 Fresher's Director, 2008/2009 Treasurer)

1. [...] τσαι που εσυζητούσα τσαι με άλλα μέλη του ομίλου ειδικά όταν ήμουν
2. fresher's director το feedback που έπιασα ήταν ότι ευχαριστούμε επειδή με τούντον
3. τρόπον ήβραμεν άλλους Κυπραίους, εν ένα στήριγμα. Αλλά τσαι τες περισσότερες
4. φορές θωρείς ότι κάποια πράματα εν culturally language based, οπότεν θέλεις να τα
5. κάμεις ας πούμε, εννοώ θέλεις να αναμεικτείς με Κυπραίους...

1. [= [...] when discussing with other members of the Society, especialy when I was
2. A fresheer;s director, the feedback that I got was that "thank you because in
3. this way we found other Cypriots and it is a prop. But most times
4. you see that some things are culturally language based, so you do want to
5. do it lets say, I mean you want to be involved with other Cypriots...]

(Dataset B, 09/05/09, Interview F)

Extract 4.12

Question: Could you tell me what your opinion is about the events organized by the Society?

Participant: RES3: Thanos, 22 year old male, Society's 2009-2010 Web-Officer.

1. Ε κοίτα αφού το έζησα τσαι 'γώ προσωπικά, πρώτος – το πρώτο πράμα που
2. επιτυγχάνεται με τες εκδηλώσεις είναι να γνωριστούν μεταξύ τους οι Κύπριοι του
3. HEI, που για για τους περισσότερους εν αρκετά σημαντικό τούτο [...]τσαι
4. πιστεύω ότι κυρίως τσιέινω που μας διά περισσότερη αυτοπεποίθηση στο να
5. κάμνουμε φιλίες με άτομα της χώρας μας είναι εκτός που την νοοτροπία τσαι το
6. θέμα της γλώσσας, γιατί ντάξει μπορεί ούλλη μέρα να μιλάς στα Αγγλικά λόγω του
7. course και λοιπά, δεν λέω ότι κανένας μας δεν εν εναντίον της παρέας με τους
8. συμφοιτητές μα στους Άγγλ- τους Αγγλόφωνους. Απλά ντάξει η άνεση που
9. νοιώθεις, με το να είσαι με κάποιο δικό σου άτομο στο εξωτερικό εν πολλά
10. σημαντικό.

1. [= Look, since I have personally experienced it first – the first thing that
2. is achieved through these events is for the Cypriots of HEI to meet each
3. other, which for most this is very important {...} and
4. I believe that what mostly gives us more confidence in making
5. friendships with people from our country is, besides the mentality, the issue of
6. language, because, okay, you might speak English all day because of your
7. course etc, and I am not saying that any of us is contrary to befriending our
8. classmates who are Eng- the English-speaking. It is just that the comfort you
9. feel by being with someone close to you whilst abroad is very
10. important.]

(Dataset B, 13/05/09, Interview G)

Extract 4.13

Question: A large number of events take names such as ‘Greek party’ or are related to the Cypriot culture such as ‘Vasilopita Cutting’ or ‘Green Monday’. What’s your opinion about this kind of events?

Participant: RES2: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society’s 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 Vice President

1. Εεμ όσον παράξενο και αν φαίνεται από τον καιρό που ήρθα στην Αγγλία οτιδήποτε
 2. εκδήλωση περισσότερο παραδοσιακή βρίσκω να την εκτιμώ περισσότερο εε ε ίσως
 3. επειδή μας λείπει όλο αυτόν το κλίμα της Κύπρου και τα λοιπά
-
1. [= *Em no matter how weird it may seem, ever since I came in Engand, any*
 2. *event that is more traditional I seem to appreciate it more, ee maybe*
 3. *it’s because we miss all this environment of Cyprus etc.*]

(Dataset B, 06/04/09, Interview C)

With regards to these statements, it appears that communication is facilitated and more likely to develop due to the member’s communal linguistic code (extract 4.11, line 4 and extract 4.12, line 4-5). Additionally, events related to tradition (i.e. Green Monday and Vasilopita Cutting) seem to be evoked as elements indicating associations with the motherland as well as elements that attract greater participation in organized events. Similar to De Fina’s study of an Italian community of practice (see section 2.4), cultural resources, such as language, ideology and ceremonies, are drawn upon to construct personal and group identity and affirm their belonging by associating membership with ethnic behaviour and specific activities associated with group membership (Roberts et al, 1999:302, cf. De Fina, 2007).

During the interview collection all members interviewed, supported that some sort of communication either face-to-face or mediated is necessary in order to develop any connection with the Society and its members. Napier and Gershenfield support that “as individuals test out their environment and observe the various personalities involved” it is very likely that this “early period is when most communication patterns develop” (1981:42). As the participant from the extract below states, usually the way people meet each other are through the Society’s events and slowly begin to develop communication by exchanging telephone numbers, Facebook names, by arranging to attend events organized by the Society. This does not happen instantly, as some sort of contact is required both within and outside the Society.

Extract 4.14

Question: Could you describe the circumstances under which any friendships or connections with other members have been created?

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

1. Συνήθως, συνήθως γνωρίζεσαι σε ένα event εεμ χω- εν ηξέρεις τον άλλο πάεις σε
2. ένα event εε ο ρόλος μας σαν συμβούλιο είναι να βοηθήσουμε τα άτομα να
3. γνωριστούν μεταξύ τους [...] Τσiai σύ σαν άνθρωπος ο ίδιος εν να επικοι- εν να
4. επιδιώξεις να επικοινωνήσεις με κάποιον άλλο να γνωριστείς, να συστηθείς, να πείς
5. είμαι ο τάδε, σπουδάζω το τάδε... αρχίζεις μιαν ομιλία εν να ανταλλάξετε τηλέφωνα
6. εεε πιο σπάνια το e-mail αλλά στο Facebook τελευταίως ας πούμεν... αυτό, να
7. αρχίσεις μιαν επικοινωνία ας πούμε έτσι πιοο ας πούμεν πάμε για καφέ, πάμε το ένα
8. τσιαί σιγά σιγά που πιο εκτός Society, αυτά. Τσiai εκτός τσiai εντός άλλες
9. δραστηριότητες εν να, εν να έρτεις πιο κοντά με τον άλλο τσiai μετά όταν εν γίνει το
10. επόμενο event εν να πεις του άλλου 'Ρε εν το τάδε event εν να πάμε μαζί;' ή ξέρω' γώ
11. 'Εν να πάμε;', 'Εν να παίζουμε μπάπα; 'Εν να πάμε στο musical;', τσiai σιγά σιγά με
12. τον χρόνο δένεσαι εν τσiai εν αυτόματοο εν με τον χρόνο.

1. [= Usually, usually, you meet in an event without- you don't know each other,
2. you go in an event; our role as committee is to help people meet each
3. other [...] And you personally, you will comm- you will aim at communicating with
4. someone else, to get to know each other, to introduce yourself, To say I am X, I study
5. X...you begin to talk, you will exchange phone numbers eee more rarely email but
6. lately Facebook...that, you begin some sort of communication lets say more-
7. you are going to say "let's go for coffee, lets do this" and by time it will be outside
8. Society as well. Both within and outside (the Society) you will grow closer to
9. other people through other meetings and when the next event is organized you will
10. say "It's the X event, want to go together?" or I don't know "Are we going?", "Are
11. we playing football?" "Are we going to the musical?" and by time you grow closer, I
12. mean time makes this inevitable.]

(Dataset B, 03/03/09, Interview B)

Similarly, people that are newcomers find it useful to attend meetings, as that opens up the scope for communication, networking and contact. For example, according to Jennie the pre-departure meeting mentioned below, seems to be a useful experience and basis on which further communication will develop.

Extract 4.15

Question: Has your membership in the Society offered you the opportunity to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?

Participant: RES7: Jennie, 19 year old female, Society member

1. Ναι νομίζω από εκεί άρχισε η όλη μου σχέση με τους Κύπριους εδώ, τσiai γνωρίζεις
2. περισσότερους οι οποίοι ξέρουν ακόμα τσiai άλλα άτομα γνωρίζεις τσiai άλλους
3. μέσα που τσιείνους, νομίζω βοηθά πολλά. [...] Κατ'αρχήν τους πιο πολλούς
4. εγνώρισα τους στο pre-departure meeting που εκάμαμεν στην Κύπρο, εε
5. ανταλλάξαμε τηλέφωνα αν τσiai εμιλήσαμε λίγο που τσιείνο τον καιρό. Μετά που
6. ήρθαμε έτυχε να τους ξανασυναντήσω τσiai εντάξει έτυχε θκυο-τρείς φορές να
7. κανονίσουμε να βρεθούμε εκτός των meetings που κάμνει το Society.

1. *[= Yes, I think that's when my relationship with Cypriots started here; you meet*
2. *more people that know even more people and so you meet other people*
3. *through them; I think it helps a lot [...]* Basically, I have met most people
4. *in the pre-departure meeting we had in Cyprus, ee*
5. *we exchanged telephone numbers even though we did not talk much ever since. After*
6. *we came here I met them again and okay it was the case that a couple of times we*
7. *arranged to meet beyond the meetings organized by the Society.]*

(Dataset B, 01/05/09, Interview E)

As previously seen in example 4.5 (Alexandros), it is fully realized that in order for a community to exist, members must act and interact. Evidence relating to the frequency and intensity of interaction is documented in the e-mails circulated by the Society, as referred to in one of the interviews as well.

Extract 4.16

Question: What in your opinion is it that keeps this particular Society alive?

Participant: RES2: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 Vice President

1. Είναι η συχνή επαφή των μελών είτε μέσω των events, είτε μέσω...ακόμα και των e
 2. mails που στέλνει ξέρω 'γω ο πρόεδρος μιαν κάθε τόσο μας θυμίζουν ότι να είμαστε
 3. μέλος κάποιου ομίλου ας πούμε, ει- είμαστε αρκετά κοντά δεμένοι και οι προθέσεις
 4. του είναι τόσο αγνές που σε κανένα σημείο δεν κάμνουν κάποιο να θέλει να
 5. αποτραβηχτεί ή να θέλει...
1. *[= It is the frequent members contact either through the events or through...even*
 2. *Through the emails that the Chair sends every now and then that remind us that yes*
 3. *we are members of a Society lets say; We- we are quite closely connected and its*
 4. *intentions are so pure that in no case would make anyone to want to*
 5. *withdraw or want to...]*

(Dataset B, 06/04/09, Interview C)

Notably, besides any information exchanges or interactions that might exist between the members themselves, the Society as a unit represents itself via the use of e-mails and its website (which I will discuss in subsequent pages). Therefore, besides the members' registration to the Society, their 'reminder' of membership are the e-mails the Society forwards to its members.

The analysis in this section indicates that the members' shared interests and needs such as the need to feel like home and the need to socialize with other people from Cyprus who speak the same language create a common ground on which a set of tools, frameworks, documents and language (initially registration with the Society and recognition of membership) develop and become the social fabric which foster

interactions and relationships. Clearly, issues such as need for socialization with individuals of the same cultural and linguistic background are great indicators of the ethnically based character of the Society which I will discuss chapter 7. It is worthwhile at this stage to look at the frequency and intensity of communication in terms of a quantitative e-mail analysis within the framework of developmental processes.

4.2 Developing Society Practices across time

Adopting Wenger's framework of 'CoP stages of development' has been beneficial for describing the practices noted through participant observation (See Section 3.2.1). The Society's developmental stages were reflected in the frequency of Society e-mails circulated throughout the years. As can be seen in Table 6 below, each month the Society regulates e-mails to the members regarding events, and any other information that the Society judges to be relevant and useful to its members.

Month	E-mails throughout the Academic Year 2007-08	E-mails throughout the Academic Year 2008-09	E-mails throughout the Academic Year 2009-10
September	No Data	3	5
October	No Data	5	7
November	8	8	9
December	5	4	1
January	4	6	8
February	11	8	8
March	8	8	10
April	1	1	0
May	2	0	3
June	2	4	0
July	1	1	3
August	2	1	2

Table 6
Monthly e-mail circulation

Evidently, the Society regulates e-mails throughout the academic year, starting September until June to keep its members engaged in some sort of contact. What is more, the figures (2, 3 and 4) below serve as a possible indicator of the Society's lifespan throughout the academic year. More specifically, messages sent within the middle part of the academic year, that is from November to March, are twice as much both in terms of frequency and number, when compared to those sent in the beginning

of the academic year (September, October) and those sent towards the end of the academic year (May, June, July).

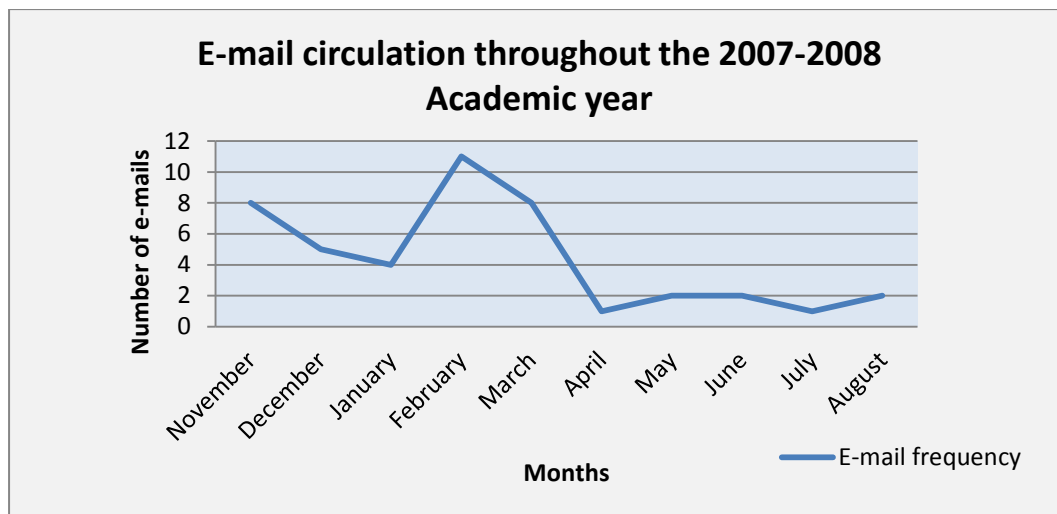


Figure 4
Society E-mail circulation throughout 2007-2008

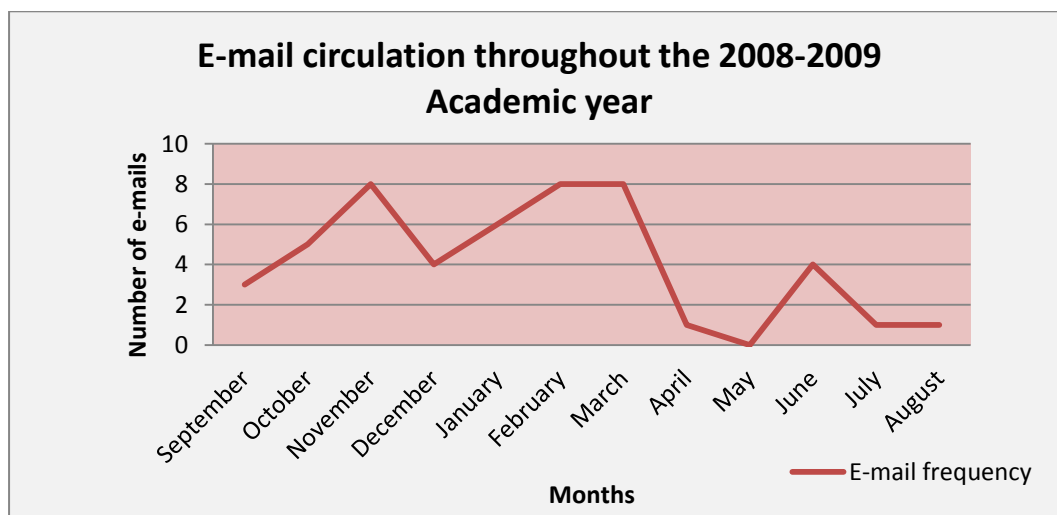


Figure 5
Society E-mail circulation throughout 2008-2009

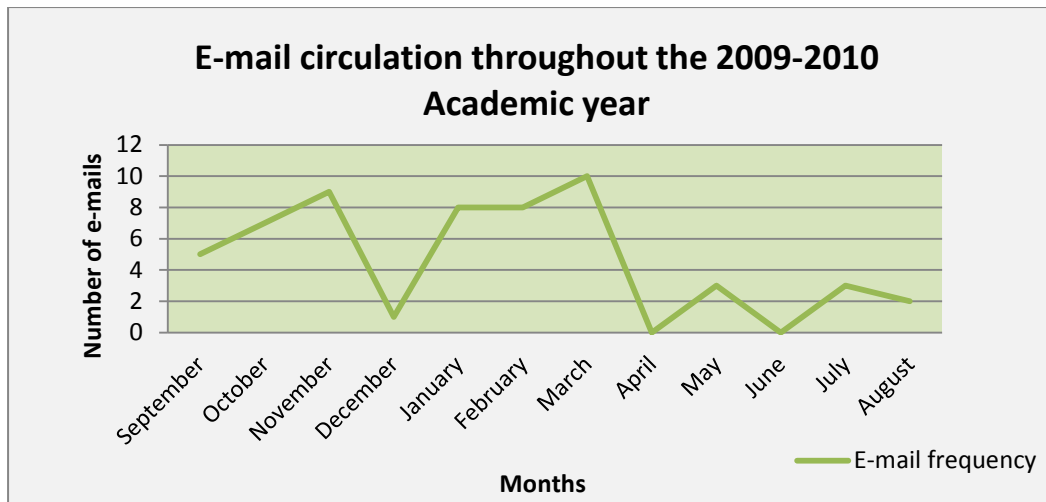


Figure 6
Society E-mail circulation throughout 2009-2010

Bearing in mind that the figures describe the frequency of e-mails in three consecutive years, it would be useful to see the frequency of e-mails as one single line as in the table below. Due to lack of data for September and October 2007, the figure below represents circulated e-mails from November to August of each academic year.

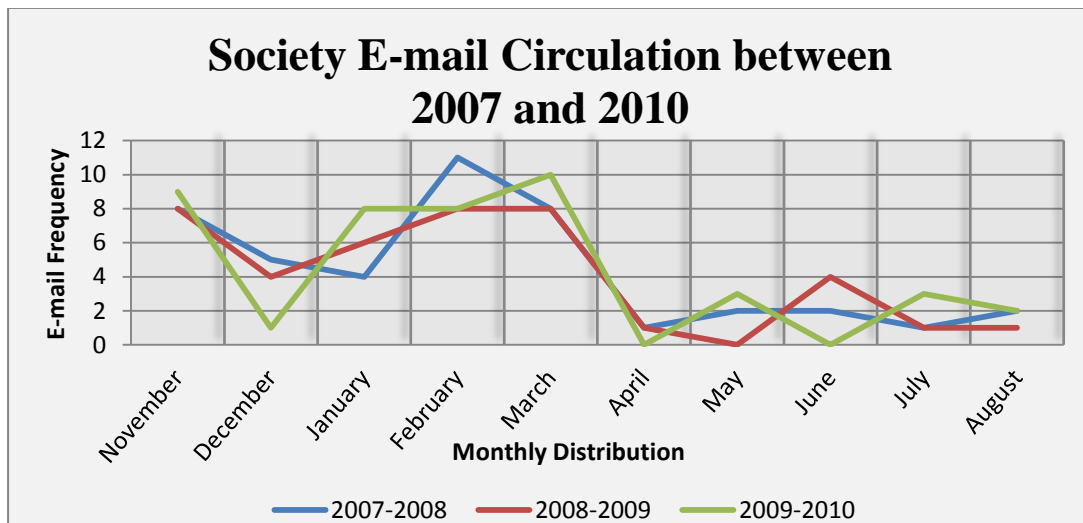


Figure 7
Decrease and increase in e-mail circulation throughout 2007-08, 2008-09 and 2009-10

E-mails circulated at the beginning of each academic year (November) are high in frequency. There is a decrease towards December, while throughout January, February and March the e-mail frequency increases. Finally, circulated e-mails present a decrease towards the end of each academic year. The patterning of

communication in terms of frequency is the same for all three academic years. It can be assumed from the figures above that the frequency of e-mail circulation is an indicator of the Society's process of formation and reformation. Additionally, categorization of the 'subject' of e-mails collected indicates that the purpose and content of most e-mails is repeated every academic year. The table below presents the repeatability of purpose of Society e-mail communication year-by-year.

E-mail Content	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010
Pre-departure meeting (September/October)	No data	✓	✓
Dinner Meeting	✓	✗	✓
Musical visits	✓	✓	✓
Games Nights	✗	✓	✓
Demonstration (November)	✓	✓	✓
Christmas Party (December)	✓	✓	✓
Christmas Pie cutting (January)	✓	✓	✓
Christmas Wishes	✓	✓	✓
Green Monday	✓	✓	✗
Easter Wishes	✓	✓	✗
Exams/good luck wishes	✓	✓	✓
Summer wishes	✓	✓	✗
Society trip	✓	✓	✓
Accommodation	✓	✓	✓
Greek Parties/concerts	✓	✓	✓
Seminars/Study/work opportunities	✓	✓	✓

Table 7
Repeatability of purpose/content of Society e-mails per year

The generation of social practices is in each year repeated to serve the general purposes of the Society, as well as the needs of both the newcomers' and existing members'. The circulation of e-mails attracts new members while at the same time maintains and perhaps renews the interest of already existing members.

Relating this fact to the stages of CoP development described earlier (see section 3.2.1), these show how communication begins, increases, becomes frequent and then decreases again. Interestingly, during the potential stage in which people share similar situations without the benefit of a shared practice, the e-mails sent (even though small in number) inform the members about the pre-departure meeting in which people will be able to find each other. During the coalescing stage (September-mid October) the increased number of e-mails sent about events, gives the opportunity to people to come together, explore connectedness and negotiate community. The

increased number of e-mails sent throughout the active stage (late October- March), indicate some sort of increased activity going on and possible engagement in joint activities. During the active stage in which the number of messages sent increase around November, one can note a slight decrease in the months of December and January. The decrease in frequency appears to be a result of a combination of factors which I will discuss below.

“The members’ understanding of their domain – its purpose, its resolved issues, its open questions – allows them to decide what matters” (Wenger, McDermott, Snyder, 2002:28,31). The committee of the Society is formed each year by different people. The goals set out (see extract 4.1), based on the shared understanding of the domain, must be met within one academic year. The academic year, is known to be formed in 3 terms, which are mostly realized with a break between each term and the exam period. The two months referred to above, are the two months that separate the first from the second term through the Christmas break and the exam period in January. In December most members return back to Cyprus for their Christmas holidays, a fact in which geographical proximity seems to be a contributing factor for contact, while January is a time in which members spend their time studying for exams. Below is an e-mail sent by the Society to its members during January 2010.

Extract 4.17

From: HEI Cypriot Society (heicysoc@googlemail.com)
Sent: Monday, January 11, 2010 7:45:52 PM

Dear Fellow Students,

Welcome back to snowy, ice cold London! Whether you made it here direct or were taken on a detour via Glasgow you're here now and probably busy handing in assignments and preparing for exams! On the plus side it doesn't get much colder than this so wrap up, stay indoors and hold tight:)

We wish you all the best with your upcoming assessments and you will shortly hear from us about our annual Vasilopitta event!

Best,

HEI Cypriot Society Committee

(Dataset A, 11/01/10, E-mail 112⁸)

The topic of this e-mail is an acknowledgement of the members’ responsibilities as students and the sharing of good luck wishes to its members. Therefore, a factor

⁸ See Appendix D1 for the numeration of Society e-mails sent throughout the 2007-2010 period.

affecting the decrease are both the Committee's understanding of the members needs at that time period, as well as the Committee's members lack of personal time to organize a big number of events during that time due to the exams period. The domain, as understood by Society members may describe the need to socialize with Greek-Cypriot people and have a rich student experience together (See section 4.1.1), however during exam periods what is prioritized is the members academic work and therefore this view of the domain shapes the behaviour of the Society's actions. For example, members are urged to anticipate an update about the event that is repeatedly organized in January, the cutting of 'Santa-Claus pie'. Despite the fact that the Society members return to London at the beginning of January as it is the start of the second term, the event is organized towards the end of January (see Appendix D1 and more specifically the dates in e-mails 15, 65 and 113) which indicates some sort of consideration of what matters most to members during the first half of January.

The decrease in the number of e-mails circulated during the dispersed stage of the Society is also related to such factors. Namely, during April students return to Cyprus for the Easter holidays, while during May students spend most of their time studying for the year's final examinations. Moreover, the summer months can be said to constitute the memorable stage, which is the last stage of CoP development. In detail, during the period from June-August, there are only a limited number of members that do not return to Cyprus, hence the decrease in e-mail circulation from the Society. Surely, interactive patterns might be influenced by the developmental stage the community has achieved. As can be seen in the frequency of e-mails during the 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/2010 academic years, the Society's achievement in maintaining long-term interaction with its members allows the building up of valuable relationships in terms of respect (i.e. Society as an organizing body) and stability (i.e. persistent circulation of e-mails).

On the whole, the frequency of e-mail communication illustrates that e-mails are a valid indicator of the Society's stages of development. Additionally, the repeatability of purpose/content of such e-mail communication, the increase of e-mails in the mid of the academic year and the decrease of e-mails during the Christmas, Easter and summer period highlight issues of the Society's domain. In detail, the repeatability of email content and social practices advertised through such serve the purpose of introducing new members in the Society-and therefore an indicator of the process of apprenticeship - and addressing the needs of both newcomers and existing members.

The decrease of e-mails during term breaks and exam periods is again influenced by members' needs during that period as well as by the issue of participation. On the one hand, during January and May/June the members direct their energies towards accomplishing their academic tasks at the time (e.g. assignments, exams), while on the other hand, during such periods and more specifically December-January, April and June-August most members return to Cyprus. As follows, participation in the Society's events during such periods is limited and hence the decrease in e-mails. Having discussed the frequency of e-mail communication, it is worth looking at what sorts of mediation is used in coordinating and organizing the practices advertised in the e-mails sent to members.

4.3 Mediation as a tool: Society E-mails and Website as coordinating mechanisms between mutual engagement and joint enterprise.

According to Douglas a group or community "may be regarded as an open interaction system in which actions define the structure of the system and successive interactions exert co-equal effects upon the identity of the system" (Stogdill, 1959 cited in Douglas, 1993:25). A community's quality of interactional encounters, in terms of frequency, intensity and choice of communication, gives useful insights into the group's identity. There is a general assumption however, that effective group communication has now become more complex in the exchange of information in verbal or digital communication. (Lowry et al, 2006:632). As follows, the challenge seems to be the embracing of both aspects – effective communication and verbal and digital communication- in trying to locate how both the group and its members act out their identity and social presence. It is true that communication is hardly ever restricted to only one medium; it is often the case that several media are put into use, depending on individual and group needs and norms (Preece and Mahoney-Krichmar, 2005:2). Bearing this in mind, this section will primarily deal with the ways in which mediation is used as a tool by the members of the Society as part of their repertoire of resources in facilitating the process of community formation. Initially, I will investigate the issue at matter by recreating the mediation involved in organizing a Society event, and secondly I will analyse the use of email and website as tools for facilitating community formation.

As previously mentioned (see Section 3.2) the Society does not hold any spatial location. When members are registered with the Society, by paying a registration fee at the student Union's office, their names and e-mails are provided to the Society's committee, who then includes the names in the contact list of members. The contact list includes names and e-mails of members (both registered and non-registered), which the Society puts in use when wanting to contact those members. In addition to any telephone calls, or mouth-to-mouth exchanges, the circulation of e-mails to the people on the contact list is the only official way in which the Society informs its members about upcoming events, meetings or any other information exchanges. The e-mails are circulated throughout the year, and as seen in section 4.2., their frequency ranges from time to time, depending on the period of time throughout the academic year. The Society emails sent to members, most of the times involve invitations to events and invitations to engage in the Society's practices. Coordination in achieving group tasks and engagement in practice is likely to increase the spread of interaction between group members through available tools that are part of the Society's repertoire (Douglas, 1993:26). With that in mind, it was considered worthwhile to look at the ways in which mediation is involved in the organization of a specific event. On 16th October 2009, the Society organized its annual dinner for its members for the 2009-2010 academic year. Up until the date the event took place, a series of interactions took place, both offline and online. Apparently, the suggestion for the organization of the event was made during the Society's Committee meeting, as at the beginning of each academic year the Committee meets to set the goals for each semester. As can be seen in the email below (extract 4.18), the communication of updates regarding the event has occurred in other mediums of communication besides face-to-face contact.

Extract 4.18

Date: Tue, 6 Oct 2009 21:49:31 +0100

Subject: News Update

1. Kalispera!
2. Epistrefo apo ena meeting pou itan san tin mikri annoula.. elipan ta misa ta meli!
3. 3) Perimenoume pao to michael na mas kami finalise ta teleutea details tou dinner
4. ke na ftiaxoume ta isitiria ke na arhisoume tin polisi. Adrianne otan exo ta details
5. mboris na sxediasis ena ticket?

Translation

1. [= Good Evening!
2. I return from a meeting that was just like little Annie...half the parts were missing!

3. 3) *We are expecting Michael to finalize the final details of the dinner*
4. *and make the tickets and start selling. Adrianne when I have the details*
5. *could you design a ticket?]*

(Dataset A, 06/10/09, Committee E-mail exchange A)

This email example above is part of an email sent by the Chair to the rest of the committee members. It appears here that the latest details for the dinner have not yet been finalized. Once this is done, the members will move on to sell tickets. It appears here that in order to coordinate, the members of the Committee employ the email medium to communicate, as it allows for member inclusiveness - all Committee members are cited in the 'To' field - as well as a record of actions (text permanence) (cf. Skovholt and Svennevig, 2009:49-55). Inclusiveness here is highlighted in the opening sentence of the e-mail (line 2) through the use of a 'little Annie' joke. The use of polysemy⁹ of the word 'meli' ('μέλη' which means both 'body parts' and members) humorously accounts for the non-presence of committee members in the meeting and hence the e-mail. The employment of the joke here functions as a justification for the e-mail which gives directions and coordinating actions to all members (both the ones that were present and the ones non-present in the meeting preceding the e-mail) in order to proceed in the organization of events collectively.

Three days later an email is circulated to all the Society members announcing the arrangement of the event and inviting them to the event by providing information about the location, time and tickets. Since the circular email was sent three days after the one presented above (extract 3.18), it appears that Committee members interacted (data on which were not accessible) in reaching a final decision. The email invitation sent on the 9th October 2009 is shown below¹⁰.

Extract 4.19: Annual Dinner e-mail invitation

Subject: Dinner Invitation, Friday 16th at Jimmy's!
 From: HEI Cypriot Society (heicysoc@googlemail.com)
 Sent: Friday, October 09, 2009 2:20:07 AM

1. Αγαπητοί συμφοιτητές και αγαπητές συμφοιτήτριες,
2. Με αφορμή τη δυναμική με την οποία ξεκίνησαμε, πιστεύουμε πως έφτασε η κατάλληλη
3. στιγμή για άλλη μια ψυχαγωγική έξοδο, που έχει κάθε προοπτική να μας μείνει
4. αξέχαστη. Σχεδόν όλοι οι παλαιότεροι, αλλά και αρκετοί από τους νεότερους φοιτητές, θα

⁹ Polysemy describes "the relatedness of meaning accompanying identical form", or to put it simply "one form having multiple meanings which are related by extension" (Yule, 1996:121).

¹⁰ The email text appears both in Greek and English. The Greek version appears first followed by the English version. See Appendix D2 for the full version of the e-mail.

5. έχετε ακούσει για τα μπουζούκια του Τζίμη: φαΐ, ποτό και άρωμα από ελληνικά μπουζούκια!
6. Σας προσκαλούμε σε δείπνο, λοιπόν, την επόμενη **Παρασκευή 16 Οκτωβρίου, και ώρα**
7. **8.30μμ. στα μπουζούκια Τζίμη**, διεύθυνση 23 Frith Street, Soho, London, W1D
8. 4RS. Πλησιέστεροι σταθμοί είναι το Leicester Square και το Tottenham Court Road.
9. Η τιμή του εισιτηρίου θα περιλαμβάνει φαγητό για όλους, καθώς και ένα ποτό, στην τιμή των
10. **£13 για μέλη και £15 για μη μέλη.**

11. Λόγω περιορισμένου αριθμού εισιτηρίων, σας ενημερώνουμε πως οι αγορές εισιτηρίων και οι
12. κρατήσεις για ποτό αργότερα, πρέπει να γίνουν μέχρι την ερχόμενη **Τρίτη, 13 Οκτωβρίου.**
13. Εισιτήρια θα κρατούν τα ακόλουθα μέλη της επιτροπής: Αλέξανδρος (τηλ.), Μιχάλης (τηλ.),
14. Τζών (τηλ.), Χρυσή (τηλ.) και Θάνος (τηλ.).
15. Φιλικά,
16. Η Επιτροπή, HEI CySoc

1. [= Dear Society members,

2. *Building on our current momentum, we thought this would be the right time for another*
3. *entertaining event, one with every prospect of turning into a memorable night: Probably all*
4. *the older students and perhaps some newer students as well, will have heard of Jimmy's*
5. *restaurant: food, drinks, and an aroma of Greek bouzoukia!*
6. *We hereby invite you to dinner, next **Friday 16th October at 8.30pm, at Jimmy's***
7. ***restaurant**, at 23 Frith Street, Soho, London, W1D 4RS. Closest tube stations are Leicester*
8. *Square and Tottenham Court Road.*
9. *Tickets include food, as well as one drink, at the price of **£13 for members and £15 for non***
10. ***members.***

11. *Due to a limited number of places, we inform you that tickets must be purchased and drinks*
12. *reservations need to be made by this **Tuesday, 14th October.** Tickets are available from the*
13. *following committee members: Alexandros (tel.), Michael (tel.), John (tel.),*
14. *Chrissie (tel.) and Thanos (tel.).*
15. *Regards,*
16. *The Committee, HEICySoc]*

(Dataset A, 09/10/09, E-mail 95)

Members are urged to obtain tickets by contacting Committee members whose contact numbers are provided in the email (line 17). The use of email as a reply to this invitation is not encouraged in this e-mail and in addition it was not shown to be a usual practice among members of the Society. Indicative are the diary extracts below.

Extract 4.20

Participant: RES10: Michael, 22 year old male, Society's 2008/2009 Sports Officer and 2009/2010 Vice-President

Diary entry:

14/10/09 19:00

Text msgs: from Julius for dinner arrangements

(Dataset E, 14/10/09, Diary F)

Extract 4.21

Participant: RES6: Eliza, 20 year old female, Society's 2007/2008 Fresher's Director, 2008/2009 Treasurer

Diary entry:

14/10/09 14:00

SMS Chrissie: arrange tickets for Jimmys

(Dataset E, 14/10/09, Diary C¹¹)

Extract 4.22

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

Diary entry:

21:49 13/10/1009

I also spoke to some friends from another university who wanted 2-3 tickets for the dinner but who will confirm in due course.

(Dataset E, 14/10/09, Diary A¹²)

The process of organizing an event, announcing, inviting and finally attending an event, occurs at different communication mediums and follows different stages of practice development. It appears that:

- a) Committee members introduce a course of action in face-to-face meetings (see line 2 in extract 4.18 for example)
- b) Committee members' coordination occurs via email or via mobile telephone or texting
- c) the practice is advertised to the Society members via email, which is the primary means the Society employs to communicate its practices to the members and
- d) Society members engage in texting or mobile communication in order to 'gain' access to the event (in cases when tickets need to be purchased).

It must be stated however that it is merely the first three stages that occur more frequently, as the Society's events do not always necessitate members to buy tickets, make reservations or confirm attendance. It is important then to see how emails as the connecting factor between Committee decisions and member engagement are

¹¹ See Appendix F for Eliza's Diary

¹² See Appendix F for Alexandros' Diary

employed by the Society to communicate its social practices and links with its members.

The e-mails circulated by the Society serve the purposes of informing the members and maintaining a connection with them; in this manner the production and circulation of e-mails becomes the way of preserving the Society's social presence (both offline and online) as a recognized community in its members' social reality, as well as a way of recognizing the presence of their members. Within the Society's e-mails, the Society is represented as a unit, and not as an individual member. Careful consideration of the communicative possibilities of different communication technologies must be taken into consideration. Participant observation showed that text messaging doesn't facilitate communication due to cost and the amount of information or text the Society would normally circulate; telephone communication somehow personalizes the interaction, while face-to-face communication involving every single member is hard to achieve. Throughout the three years of research no cases were documented in which the Society's practices were advertised by means other than e-mail or Facebook.

As previously stated, the only regular means of representation and communication of the Society as a unit is the employment of e-mails (see section 3.2). New communication technologies have been shown to affect context, by allowing for new ways of being present and monitoring other's presence, creating a new kind of interactional accessibility (Jones, 2204:28). Therefore, it is possible to proceed in interaction without any necessary certainty of engaged participants, when sending an e-mail. The contact list in the 'To' field - as recipients of the e-mails - can be said to be engaging in this interaction by contacting particular Society members via other means of communication, based on the email as interaction initiating (e.g. examples 4.20, 4.21, 4.22 which are reflections of members responses to the email sent regarding the annual dinner). In a sense the offline community or social grouping which describes the presence of members in the Society's practices and interactions is reconstructed online, in terms of email recipients.

4.3.1 The discourse of Society circulated e-mails

According to Herring (2007:10), computer mediated discourse, such as the e-mails circulated by the Society for example, are shaped by a combination of social and technological influences. Types of influences such as social and medium factors

involve a set of classifications (see section 2.5) involving the description of system features affecting communication and the context shaping discourse of CMC. Of course that is not to mean that the categories defining each factor are all bound to have an effect on the production of discourse.

In terms of medium factors, what is worth mentioning are the elements with reference to ‘synchronicity’ and ‘persistence of transcript’. To begin with, e-mail is an asynchronous form of communication, since the simultaneous logging in by individuals is not required. E-mails from the Society are sent to its members regardless of whether they could be online or offline. Additionally, e-mails are a persistent form of transcript by default, in that they remain in an individual’s inbox section until deleted by the user (Herring, 2007:15). In a sense, this kind of technical affordance allows for the documentation of and most importantly reifies the history of communication and practices (i.e. e-mail content: events) of the Society.

With regards to the social factors influencing e-mail discourse, it was found that a formal tone of writing (i.e language choice, positive politeness strategies, greetings and closings) is maintained in the e-mails throughout the three academic years of 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10. To begin with, the greetings are employed in 88% on the e-mails collected.

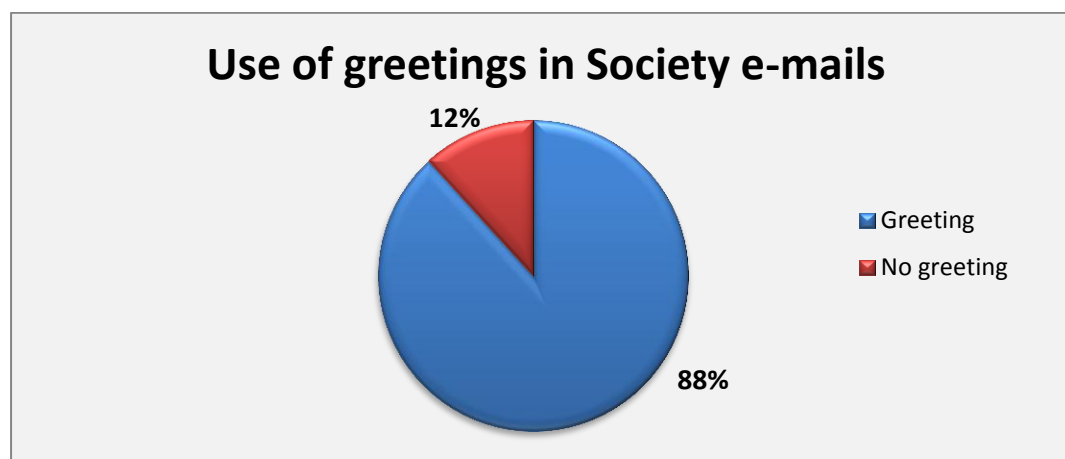


Figure 8
Percentage of the use of greetings initiating the Society e-mails

The messages which include greetings preserve opening forms of address such as ‘Αγαπητοί συμφοιτητές και συμφοιτήτριες’ and ‘Dear fellow students’ while greetings such as ‘Dear friends’ (e.g E-mail 93, sent on 21/9/2009) are also used, constituting a friendlier tone while at the same time maintaining a formal tone. Not

coincidentally greetings in e-mails can be considered as a strategy to express solidarity and personalize messages (cf. Baron, 1998:147, Crystal, 2001:101).

The main body of the text is characterized by the use of English and/or SMG in place of Cypriot Greek and Greeklish – the latter being extensively and even exclusively used in informal interactions in other mediums (See Section 4.4 where Facebook interactions among members appear in Greeklish). There is lack of any ‘webtalk’ such as LOL, no colloquial abbreviations such as ‘bye, and ‘cos’ and finally no emoticons. Most of the e-mails are characterized by the employment of speech acts such as invitations and requests (e.g. ‘With great pleasure, the Cypriot Society of HEI London, welcomes you back and invites you to the event’, and ‘For the successful organisation of the demonstration, members attending are requested to gather by 17:00), which are employed in an attempt to convey information and organize the Society’s practices as well as the people participating in those.

The production of an e-mail is usually the outcome of one individual action, usually the Chair’s as seen at the closing of a number of e-mails: “Φιλικά, Εκ μέρους της επιτροπής, Alexandros SURNAME” (Regards, on behalf of the Committee, Alexandros). However, it is more often the case that the closing of most e-mails does not define the producer as in cases where this closing appears: “Φιλικά, HEI Cypriot Society Committee” (Best Regards, HEI Cypriot Society Committee). The table below shows the two types of closings (committee signature and producer signature closing) as well as the percentage of the non-inclusion of closings.

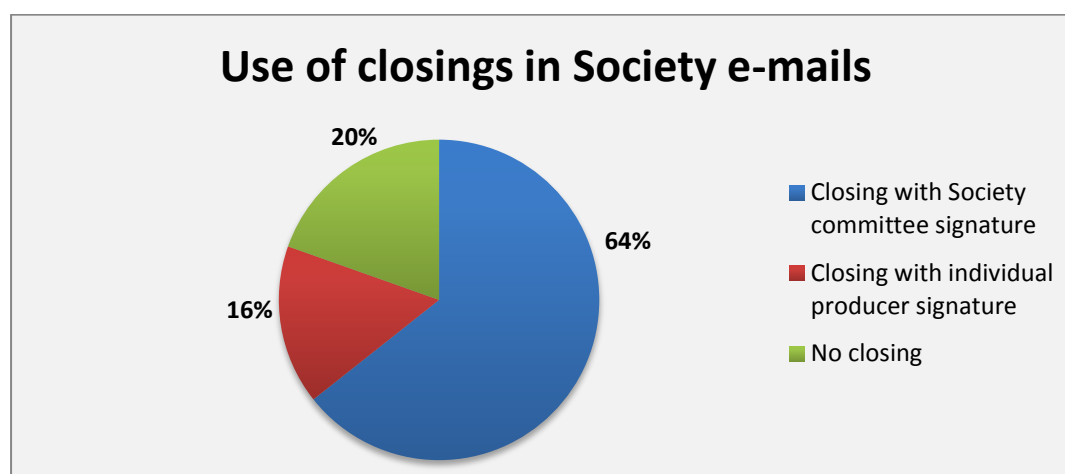


Figure 9
Percentage of the use of closings in Society e-mails

Whether the producer is defined or undefined, does not affect the communication of the e-mail content. E-mail closings with producer signatures reflect status positions within the Society which are nevertheless legitimated through members' voting procedures (cf. Waldvogel, 2007). The fact that Society members have chosen the members managing the Committee, grants those Committee members with the power to make and act upon decisions and even more so represent the Society. The e-mail closings can be generally seen as a way of signaling respect towards the audience, in that they provide a fuller identification of the sender and responsibility over the content of the e-mail (cf. Crystal, 2001). Whoever the producer however, the orientation towards the interactional achievement of the encounter, which is the informing of the members via e-mails, the representation of the Society to its members remains the same. On the other hand, the orientation of the receivers of the e-mail depends on their openness to this manner of communication and even more specifically will be dependent on their reading or disregard of the e-mail.

An additional feature traced in the e-mails relating to the 'code' used is the issue of language choice. The table below which illustrates the frequency of language use choice, it appears that the language choice during the 2007/08 academic year in the majority of e-mails was Modern Greek language with subsequent English translation, while in the majority of e-mails during the 2008/09 and 2009/10 academic years the sole use of English language was noted.

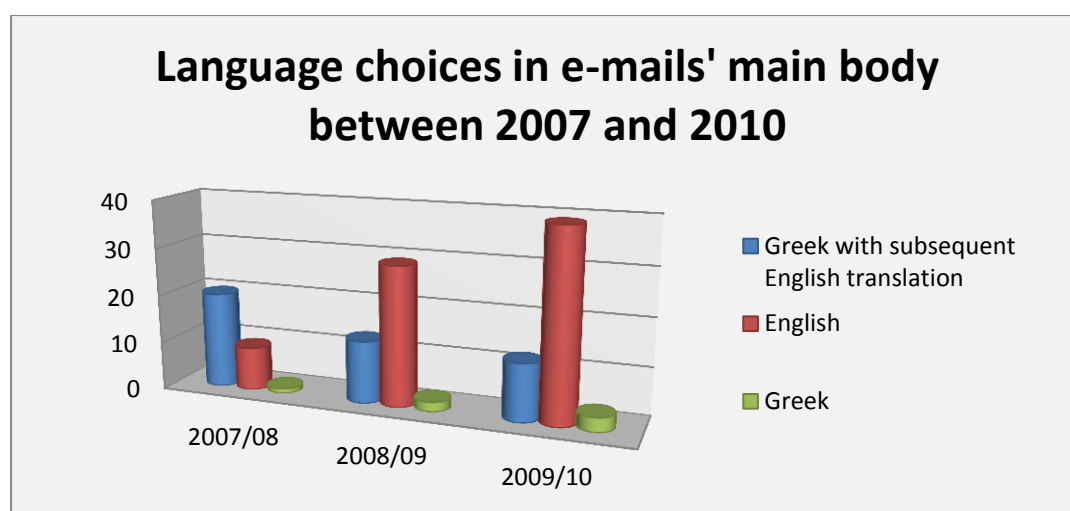


Figure 10
Language Choices in main body of Society e-mails

During the 2007/08 academic year the Chair was somehow responsible for maintaining contact with the members and according to unofficial statements he was usually the producer of e-mails. During the 2008/09 academic year there was some sort of delegation in responsibilities, and other committee members contributed in writing e-mails. This is evident from Adrienne's statements when asked about her responsibilities. (see extract 4.3). There has been some sort of reformation in the Society's Committee for the two final academic years (new elected members) and as follows negotiation of past and future actions shapes the use of language codes. The Society provides a field of possible trajectories that members can draw on to provide new ways of engaging and new potentials (Wenger, 1998:156).

Another interesting point is that even though e-mails regarding the announcement of events appear in Modern Greek language with subsequent translation in English, the reminders for such events are solely in English. Some examples indicating difference in e-mails are messages regarding 'Clean Monday' (e-mail 29 and e-mail 32), 'Bouat evening' (e-mail 47 and e-mail 48) and messages with regard to the annual trip (e-mail 16 and e-mail 19). It is also noteworthy to mention that when the sent messages involved events not directly related to the Society's practices, the English language was the preferable language of communication (Messages: e-mail 80 regarding the student Union elections, e-mail 71 regarding a PhD and Ma opportunity and e-mail 74 regarding the Cyprus Problem).

With regards to the language choice of 'subject' headings it appears that use of English language is the members' prevailing choice (See Figure 11).

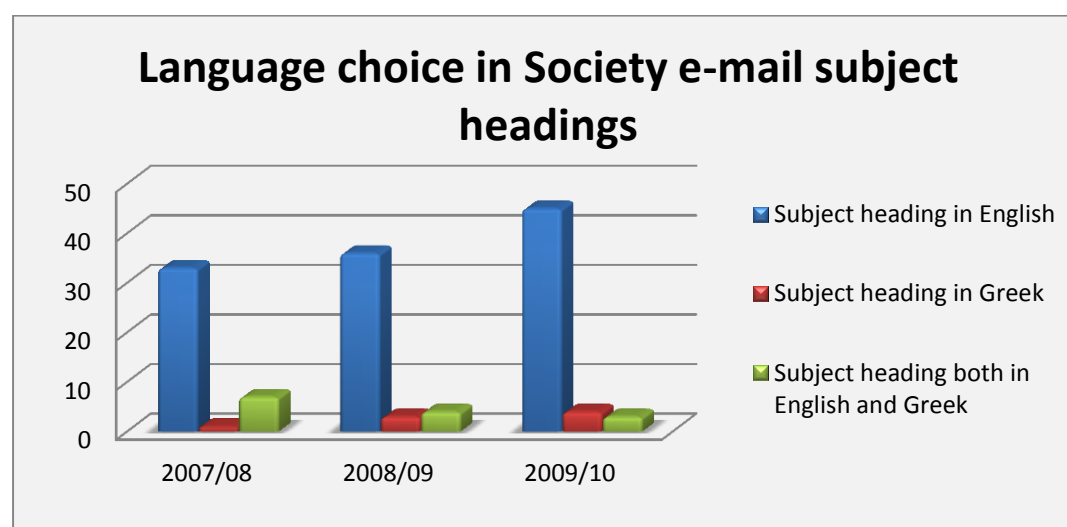


Figure 11
Language choice in Society e-mail 'subject' headings

Considering that the Society is formed by both Greek-Cypriot members as well as English Cypriot members whose competency in Greek language is limited, the choice of English language in the 'subject' heading can be said to be justified. The 'subject' heading is the first thing that members will receive along with the Society's name as the sender and priority must be given both to the 'subject' as such which functions as an introductory line of the e-mail message as well as to the language used (Crystal, 2001:97-98).

Preference for Greek language use in subject headings along with the English version was noted in e-mails whose content dealt with culturally related events such as 'Κόψιμο Βασιλόπιτας- Vasilopitta' (e-mail 15, Appendix D1), 'Subject: Ζήτω το Ελληνικό Τραγούδι- Celebrating Greek Songs' (e-mail 52, Appendix D1) and in e-mails regarding wishes such as 'Χριστουγεννιάτικες ευχές- Christmas Wishes' (e-mail 13, Appendix D1), 'Καλωσορίσατε- Welcome Back' (e-mail 14), 'Ευχές- Πάσχα' (e-mail 37) and 'Καλοκαιρινές Ευχές- Summer Wishes' (e-mail 41). The inclusion of both Greek and English in the subject headings could be related to issues of intimacy, on the grounds that wishing as a speech act is expressive of emotions and attitudes (Sifianou, 2000). Firstly, inclusion of both languages in the heading, regardless of the language choice in the main text, perhaps aims at attracting the attention of the members. In detail, the act of wishing to someone 'Merry Christmas', 'Happy Easter', 'Good Luck' or 'Welcome back' are important acts in effective and intimate communication in both the Greek and English culture, and therefore the inclusion of two languages. From a different perspective, the inclusion of both languages can be related to the members' social reality. More precisely, the e-mails regarding the act of wishing occur either prior or post academic 'breaks' (E.g. Christmas, Easter, Summer). A recognition that the a) addressees will be going back to their homeland where they will be communicating in Greek and b) addressees will be returning from the homeland where they communicated in Greek, appear to be related to the choice of including both languages.

The nature of e-mails the Society circulates to its members take the form of one-to-many and the participants engaged in the production of e-mail discourse are guided by the Society's overall motivation to maintain communication with the members. The activity of producing an e-mail and circulating it, involves exchange of information that might be of interest to the members as well as updates with regards to upcoming events. In extent the purpose of the circulated e-mails which is mainly the

communication of information about social events, falls in line with the Society's overall purpose (social in character), such as contact maintenance and the 'bringing together' of the members through the events it organizes. It is not coincidental then that the content communicated through e-mail circulation is related to social events (e.g. Greek Party, Green Monday Gathering). The topics of e-mails therefore are a reflection of the group's definition of the domain or to put it another way of what counts as worthwhile to communicate in this context (Herring, 2007:15).

The importance of what is valid to communicate to members is even more evident if one looks into the topics around which the e-mails revolve. Figure 12 exemplifies the topics of e-mails (based on the e-mails' inserted 'subject') and the amount of e-mails responding to each topic. It can be seen that the e-mails mainly revolve around general and culturally based cultural events.

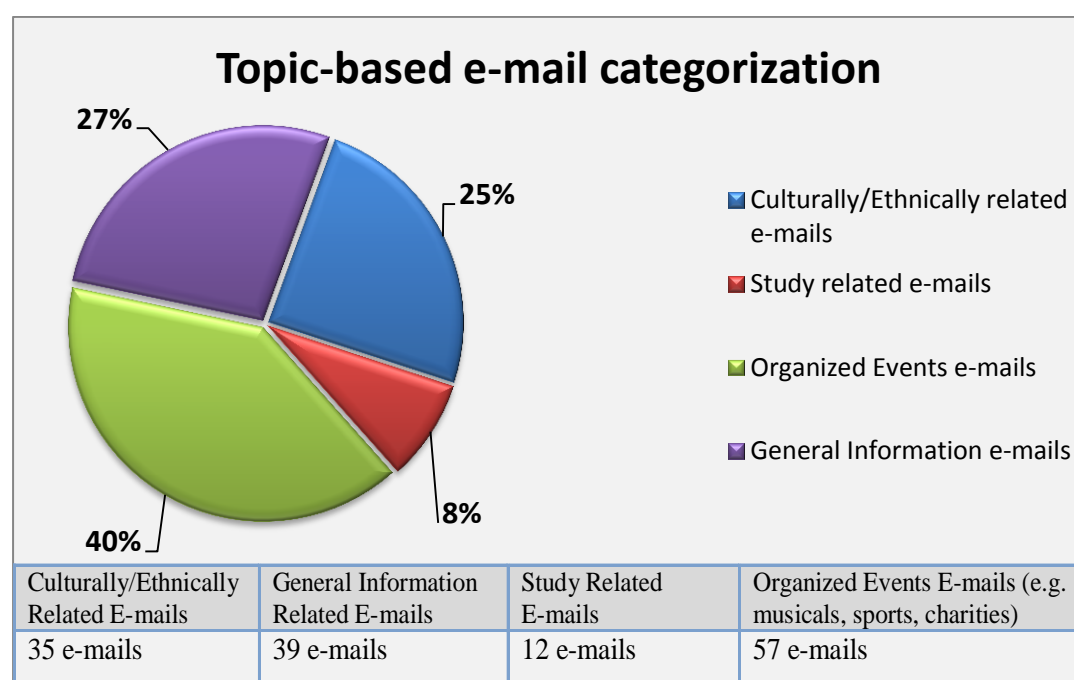


Figure 12
Topic-based e-mail categorization

It can be seen that Society circulated e-mails mainly revolve around events organized by the Society or events in which the Society participates in (40%), information-giving e-mails regarding accommodation, concerts and work opportunities (27%) and culturally or ethnically related events (25%). These percentages reflect what constitutes mutual endeavour for the members of the Society.

The actual importance of practices, such as the ones presented in Figure 12, for the formation of community and achievement of goals affects what it is to be communicated. According to members' needs within a specific domain, the Society's practices are adjusted to such in order to satisfy those, and that very response is evident in the topic choices of the e-mails. For example, the need to have some sort of contact with home and the need to experience student living with other Cypriots (Section 4.1) appears to be conceived as important, as this is reflected in the increased number of e-mails about culturally based and other general events.

It can be seen from the above analysis that through the circulation of e-mails and the advertising of its practices through such the Society manages to enact and affirm its social presence as well as address members' needs through the actual organization of such practices. This is further facilitated, by the tone in which the e-mails are communicated: formality, attributes some recognition of the Society's status while language choice, that is Modern Greek (which is a common linguistic code) and English (as a language of the host land), makes relevant the social identity and social reality of the members.

4.3.2 The Society's Website: representing the Society's practices in a virtual locality

Another means in which the Society represents itself, both to members and non-members, is through the website entitled 'HEI Cypriot Society'. The website serves as a means through which the goals and objectives, the organizing Committee, and other relevant information are portrayed. From what appears on one's screen (See Appendix A2), a basic element is the name of the website, which according to Androutsopoulos (2006:529) group websites "index their target audience by explicit reference to the ethnic group". More specifically, the name of the website appears in big bold letters on the top of the website along with a visual element, that of the Cyprus flag, defining both in direct and indirect ways the ethnic identity of the group, as the relationship of image and writing becomes a multimodal meaning-making resource (Jewitt, 2004:185). All the headings and language used throughout the website are in Standard English, even though the official language which corresponds to the flag pictured is Modern Greek. The specific language choice, could be attributed to the fact that the Society functions as an entity in an English speaking context, and even more so to the fact that language preference might be an indicator

of the producers' desire to reach to multiple target groups by making it accessible to interested non-ethnics (Androutsopoulos, 2006:528). Additionally, it should be borne in mind that one more reason for such language choice is the fact that members of the Society include English-Cypriots (See section 7.3 for a discussion), whose competency in the language of the homeland is in some cases limited.

As was previously stated, the website serves as a tool of mere representation, as neither is there a discussion board nor any registered users. Any information to be communicated is via links such as 'about us', 'committee', 'constitution', 'useful information', 'links', 'events', 'photos', 'contact us'. Any related information included in the links and especially in the 'useful information' and 'links' section, somehow define the audience. For example, the 'useful information' section involves the listing of information about the HEI University, health and transport and information for 'newcomers' such as things to do before and after they leave Cyprus to study at HEI University. Additionally, the 'links' section provides links to Greek radios, Greek sites through which live streaming movies or series are available, online Greek messaging services, as well as information about libraries and transport maps. Largely, such direct references to the University, to libraries, to Greek radio and television, not only define the audience as a Greek-Cypriot but also as students of HEI University.

Each community has a specific way in which it makes its practices visible through the ways it develops and shares knowledge (Wenger, McDermott, Snyder, 2002:39). A practice may include tacit but also explicit knowledge, the latter being visible through a manual, a Website or other resources. It is not coincidental therefore that what appears on screen when first opening the website, is the listing of all the events and meetings organized by the Society. The website then becomes in a sense the proof and affirmation of the Society's existence and engagement in practice. This sort of documenting gives a focus on community activities, while on the other hand, the actual activities give life and legitimacy to the documentation (Wenger, McDermott, Snyder, 2002:40). Related to this is the link on the website entitled as 'photos'. The 'photos' section, categorizes photos according to event names. Similarly, the photos become another way of documenting practice and along with text - describing the events in which photos appear - form an interaction of multiple modes serving as meaning-making resources. (Jewitt, 2004:185). Furthermore, the photographs serve

as a visual mode of affirming membership, in that they portray the members' actual engagement in the practices of the Society.

4.4 Relationships across media: Development of member links

When people are attracted to membership, they are more likely to accept the responsibility of membership, more likely to attend meetings more regularly, more apt to participate and maintain openness in communication as they would be more willing to be productive and receptive to the communication of others (Napier and Gershenfeld, 1981:100-101; Lowry et al, 2004:635). An important structural element of a community of practice that strengthens communication is community, as it fosters interactions and relationships. The development of mutual knowledge and common ground is positively built up through communication that might exist within a group and between its members (Gay and Lentini, 1995:n/a). The development of a common ground and identity of group-membership are facilitated by member interactions if we consider that amongst the many functions interactional encounters have are greater intensity and frequency of exposure, physical and functional proximity, social expansiveness, maintenance of the social system and development of shared history (Douglas, 1993:25).

Communication between the members of the Society is therefore crucial in the formation of a community, as members are able to develop links between each other keeping them 'united'. Communication occurs through various communication mediums, those be face-to-face or mediated environments. Besides face-to-face contact and telephone or SMS communication which most probably describe close relations, the use of Facebook as a communicative mode is one of the frequent resources that members of the Cypriot Society have at their disposal. This fact however does not necessitate that every interaction is marked by what goes on in the Society, but is rather seen as a tool which fosters interactions and facilitates the development of links among members of the Society. Facebook threads presented in this section are some of the very few (three out of five¹³) Facebook threads collected

¹³ The other two threads involve a discussion between Adrianne and Andreas, and a discussion between Thanos and Adrianne. These threads were not selected due to Adrianne and Andreas' relationship as their discussions were marked by flirtatious teasing throughout (they became a couple two months after Adrianne's registration). Thanos and Adrianne's thread was not selected as a third party individual (outsider) initiated their contact and Facebook discussion in frequent occasions.

documenting interaction between members from their point of entry in the Society. The Facebook thread involving messages in the ‘inbox’ is the only instance of such and was easily documented as the researcher was one of the recipients. The analysis of Facebook threads in this section revolves around the employment of teasing practices which typify close-knit groups whose members share a high degree of interaction and form a means of developing social links and enhancing social proximity (Lytra, 2003:48). Teasing practices here refer to the employment of nicknames and ironic comments exchanged between interlocutors. Nicknames are taken up to be names given to an individual by his peers and reflect the way in which others perceive that very individual and generally signal aspects of that individual’s social identity (Lytra, 2003:48-49). Within the data analysed, a focus is placed on names that describe social identities that might emerge from the members’ broader social context. Additionally, addressing devices such as the use of diminutives and pronoun use (specifically the use of possessive ‘μου’ meaning my) proved to be useful resources in the participants’ effort to project conversational solidarity. Linguistic devices such as these especially when used in mediated environments and across time, reflect the ways in which relationships are sustained and the ways in which relationships transgress from acquaintances to close friendships.

To start with, extract 4.23 is part of an exchange of posts shared by the Committee’s 21-year-old male Chair from Nicosia and by the 26-year-old female researcher from Paphos, dating from November 2007 to the present (see Appendix E1 for the full thread).

Extract 4.23

1. **6. Valentina wrote at 5:21pm on November 11th, 2007**
2. what's wrong Mr.President?
3. Losing faith in you, are we?
4. Well.....welcome to the club then!!!
5. **7. Alexandros wrote at 9:30pm on November 11th, 2007**
6. no losing faith:p I elpida petheni teleutea p lene!!
7. **8. Valentina wrote at 6:47pm on November 19th, 2007**
8. Re alexandri re arfe mou...ma pou exathikes...ate re savva....tha arkepsw na koutoullw
9. toixous!Exw tosa polla na diavasw kai sygkentrwsi kai xronos
10. miden!AAAAAaaaaaaa....an den mou aresei to Lion King, tha se derw!!!!toulaxiston
11. tha exw kai mia dikaiologia gia na derw kapoion...na mou fygei to stress!!! :)))
12. **9. Valentina wrote at 4:42pm on December 19th, 2007**
13. emeines monos sou poullaki mou?
14. Piase mana mou ena lsat minute ticket....kai ela!
15. **10. Alexandros wrote at 4:57pm on December 19th, 2007**
16. ma enomisa oti simera tha ediaazes taha!!! thoro kamnis polli doulia, jino to louroui tou

17. shillou ekatastrepse se pantws!
18. **11. Valentina wrote at 3:46pm on March 4th, 2008**
19. latremene K. Xatji....where on earth r u?
20. Akoma lion tha prepei na plerwnw eisitirio gia na se dw! Teleiwne kanonise tipote!aaaa
21. to savvato enna pame sou Ash enne?
22. **12. Alexandros wrote at 7:11pm on March 4th, 2008**
23. hehe, e oi je etsi re!!! pianoume se tilefono gia fai ke esi exis to klisto!!!:p na pame ene?
24. en na ntithoume?
25. **13. Valentina wrote at 1:08am on March 5th, 2008**
26. enna fyrtw....mallon kata 95% yeah!Ti ena ntytheis?En exw costume re Alexandri re arfe
27. mou!
28. **14. Alexandros wrote at 2:06am on March 5th, 2008**
29. hehe, orea... oi, en xero ti en na ntitho!! esi? skeftome na paw san ton eauto m!!! hehe
30. **15. Valentina wrote at 2:40am on March 7th, 2008**
31. Akoma en na piaeis tel...teraaas!!!!

1. **6. Valentina wrote at 5:21pm on November 11th, 2007**
2. *what's wrong Mr.President?*
3. *Losing faith in you, are we?*
4. *Well.....welcome to the club then!!!*
5. **7. Alexandros wrote at 9:30pm on November 11th, 2007**
6. *no losing faith:p Hope is the last one to die, as they say!!*
7. **8. Valentina wrote at 6:47pm on November 19th, 2007**
8. *Alexandre, my brother...where have you been...Come on Alexandre....I am about to start*
9. *banging my head on the wall! I have so much studying to do but my concentration level as*
10. *well as the time that I have available is zero!AAAAAaaaaaaa....If I don't like the Lion*
11. *King, I'll slap you!!!! At least I'll have an excuse to slap somebody...you know, so as to*
12. *minimise my stress levels!!! :))))*
13. **9. Valentina wrote at 4:42pm on December 19th, 2007**
14. *Awww are you all alone my dear?*
15. *Go get a last minute ticket....and come!*
16. **10. Alexandros wrote at 4:57pm on December 19th, 2007**
17. *But I thought you'd be studying today!!! I see you are being very productive, I seriously*
18. *think that the dog leash we were talking about has officially ruined you!*
19. **11. Valentina wrote at 3:46pm on March 4th, 2008**
20. *My dearest mr Had....where on earth r u?*
21. *A bit longer and I'll have to pay an entrance fee in order to see you! Come on arrange*
22. *something!aaaa are we going to Ash's on Saturday?*
23. **12. Alexandros wrote at 7:11pm on March 4th, 2008**
24. *hehe, stop exaggerating!!! We've been calling you to go out for dinner and your phone*
25. *was switched off!!!:p we should go right? Are we dressing up?*
26. **13. Valentina wrote at 1:08am on March 5th, 2008**
27. *I'm about to faint....probably 95% yeah!What are you dressing up as? I don't have a*
28. *costume costume Alexndre, my bro!*
29. **14. Alexandros wrote at 2:06am on March 5th, 2008**
30. *hehe, nice... no, I don't have clue!! you? Been thinking of dressing up as myself!!! Hehe*
31. **15. Valentina wrote at 2:40am on March 7th, 2008**
32. *You still haven't called...You little monsteeer!!!!*

(Dataset D, Facebook thread A. Interaction between Alexandros, Society Chair 2007-2010 and Valentina-researcher)

The interaction between the two began after the researcher, as a new member, attended the annual meeting dinner at the beginning of the academic year on October

2007. Looking at this particular interaction in terms of posting dates, it appears that one can distinguish seven smaller threads. These are:

1. November 6th-7th 2007.
2. November 11th 2007
3. November 19th 2007
4. December 19th 2007
5. March 4th-5th 2008
6. March 28th-29th 2008
7. September 10th-11th 2008

To begin with, the two first smaller threads (1 and 2) are considered to mark the beginning of the relationship between the two individuals in that the interlocutors appear to use English and not Greek at the start of their online encounter. Even though Greek-Cypriot is the mother tongue of both members, their choice of English reflects the social distance that characterizes both their online and offline relationship. It can be assumed that the use of English could be attributed to the dominance of English in computer-mediated communication as a lingua franca (Androutsopoulos, 2006:428). However, one should be aware that people engaging in mediated communication are not necessarily bound to perform similarly in the same systems (Cherny, 1999:10). In this particular case, language choice is a result of the lack of familiarity between the two. In detail, the fact that both students are located in an English speaking country and interact daily using such, constitutes English as a more neutral language to use when first interacting. As subsequent threads unfold through time, one can see that there is a change in language choice, by the employment of the Greek-Cypriot dialect (sub-threads 3-7) which persists throughout their communication.

Once switching to the Cypriot-Greek dialect, notably in Roman alphabetized Greek, linguistic devices such as teasing practices are employed throughout the posts. Indicative examples are: ‘ma enomisa oti simera tha diaazes taha!!!thoro kamnis polli doulia, jino to louroui tou shillou ekatastrepsse se pantws!’ (post 10), ‘ne ime sigouros, epistepsa se!!’ (post 19) and ‘Oh how nice....kai elaloun...ma pou tha pinw ton kafe mou otan teleiwnw to mathima?Pou?????’ (post 22). Teasing practices, in the form of ironic comments such as the ones in posts 10 and 19 can be considered as face

threatening acts in that they pose threats to the receiver's face (Sifianou, 2000). For example post 10 could be considered as a criticism on Valentina not studying when she was supposed to, while post 19 could be considered as an expression of disbelief on Valentina's claims. Repeated exclamation marks and question marks are employed by participants to give emphasis or express irony (Goutsos, 2005:201). Such features allow participants to construct the frame of their interaction as 'play' and therefore eradicate the possibility of the activity being considered face-threatening or serious. Considering that teasing practices appear a month after the relationship between the two was established offline it is safe to say that such practices provide opportunities for social bonding for the two individuals (Straehle, 1993:212).

In addition to ironic comments exchanged between the two, it was also interesting to see how terms of address either through nicknaming or direct naming contributed to social and conversational rapport. The first exchange of nicknames occurs at the early stages of their interaction in post 4 ('Take it easy Doc!!') and 5 (Speak to you later "Val-Master"). Notably, the nickname 'Val-master' was first coined by Valentina herself in making salient her identity of a 'good-player' at backgammon and indirectly boasting about her victory when playing backgammon with Alexandros. Valentina's use of 'Doc' (post 4) and 'Mr. 'President' (post 6) brings to the fore aspects of Alexandros identity as a) a student in medicine and b) a Chair of the Society's Committee. Through the use of nicknames the participants both manage to frame the interaction as playful as well as to 'make visible broader social identities' that are drawn upon in developing the bond between them (Lytra, 2003:67).

As the interaction progresses addressing devices seem to be the most prevalent use of intimacy markers. Interestingly, intimacy markers are only directed to Alexandros, as he appears to not use either Valentina's name or any other adjectives used to describe her. On the contrary, Valentina frequently uses Alexandros' name in a diminutive form ('alexandrouin' posts 16 and 18), nouns used as adjectives ('teraaas' post 15 and 'poullaki' post 9) and TV-show expressions ('re alexandri re arfe mou' posts 8 and 13) to address Alexandros. Such devices used by Valentina are considered to be employed in her effort to be friendlier and exhibit intimacy. Surely, this does not mean that Alexandros is not aiming to be friendly or show distance but rather that women tend to employ linguistic strategies in the spirit of solidarity more than men, who tend to focus on power (cf. Tannen and Kakava, 1992). This

assumption can be further supported in that in all the threads collected none of the male participants employed diminutives or nouns as adjectives to address female interlocutors while cases in which first names were used were minimal.

An additional feature intensifying the effect of such intimacy markers is the use of the possessive pronoun ‘*mou*’ along with the term of address (e.g. ‘*alexandrouin mou*’ post 18 and ‘*alexandre mou*’ post 20). The use of a possessive pronoun which in this case does not involve possession is a politeness strategy that is employed to achieve social proximity and communicate feelings of likeness (Sifianou, 2000:72). Notably, all the threads analysed, pointed to an extensive female-initiated use of possessive pronouns throughout their communication with other people, either those be male or female (See Appendix E5 for an example of female-to-female use of possessives). Additionally, the use of possessive pronouns was also frequently exchanged when it came to birthday or nameday wishes (See Section 5.3, Table 10). Possessive pronouns are employed in mediated communication in cases where individuals do not share close friendship ties (both offline and online) and aim at expressing a positive relation with the interlocutor.

Having in mind the Society’s process of development, one can see a sharp difference in the speakers’ choice of language use and speaker stance when comparing posts 1 and 2 to posts 20, 21 and 23. The first posts appear to be more formalized, they are longer in length with full sentence structures, there is a use of rather careful language and a use of English, whereas in post 23 there is a use of the Greek-Cypriot dialect, we have some teasing going on, a more direct form of address and comparatively shorter sentences. Threads dating from late November 2007 (posts 8-23) onwards show some degree of intimacy and familiarity between the two members when compared with the initial threads, implying that there could actually be a parallel between processes of community development, through the growth of social links among members. In relation to this, Douglas states that, “the development stage that the group has achieved – it is probably a statement of the obvious to say that familiarity reduces some interaction barriers” (1993:26).

Similarly, the second thread, an extract of which is presented below (See Appendix E2 for the full thread) documents an interaction between two of the focal participants, Alexandros (Committee Chair) and Adrianne (Vice-President).

Extract 4.24

Description: Post exchanges in Facebook

Participants: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair and Adrianne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 Vice President

1. **1. Adrianne wrote at 2:58am on November 21st, 2007**
2. ma akoma na pas spiti k e3ekinises douleia na animewneis to society? bravo pistos sto
3. kathikon!!
4. **2. Alexandros wrote at 3:03am on November 21st, 2007**
5. e ma ides?:p mono p ixie provlima to hotmail ke prepi na epiaes to idio email 10 fores!!
6. Eftases spiti kala?
7. **3. Adrianne wrote at 3:11am on November 21st, 2007**
8. nai eftsasa ok! thanx for asking.. enta3ei 2 fores to epiasa :p kalinixta sou :)
9. **4. Alexandros wrote at 3:19am on November 21st, 2007**
10. kanena provlima, ixa tin enoia epidi en epiene apefthias to underground! kalinihta xx
11. **5. Adrianne wrote at 2:39am on February 19th, 2008**
12. Happy Birthdayyy even if im a bit late :P oti epithymeis na to kataktiseis! xxxxx
13. **6. Alexandros wrote at 3:09pm on February 19th, 2008**
14. hehe, euxaristw Andria m!:))
15. **7. Adrianne wrote at 12:11am on January 17th, 2009**
16. alexandros had? u had what?
17. **8. Alexandros wrote at 12:16am on January 17th, 2009**
18. hehe... lalis na to sinexiso ene? Alexandros had the time of his life ena prama?! To
19. surprise...
20. apehto btw:p
21. **9. Adrianne wrote at 12:21am on January 17th, 2009**
22. alexandros had an imaginary friend when he was younger and after his loss he has been
23. unable to make any real ones? :P
24. **10. Alexandros wrote at 7:21pm on January 17th, 2009**
25. vlepo en kollitiki i asthenia tou giangou:p aspoume kati etsi!
26. **11. Adrianne wrote at 2:01am on January 25th, 2009**
27. esi ise like the honey?? taxa? glykos? :P ca va alexandre?
28. **12. Alexandros wrote at 6:00pm on January 25th, 2009**
29. oui, ca va, et toi, ca va?:p
30. **13. Adrianne February 20 at 6:09 pm**
31. parakalw na stamatiseis na ekfrazeis politikes apopseis epeidi eisai proedros tou society k
32. en na nomisoun polloi oti tis apopseis sou tis simmerizontai ola ta meli!!!

1. **1. Adrianne wrote at 2:58am on November 21st, 2007**
2. [= You haven't arrived home yet and you begun work on updating the society? Bravo
3. true to the task!!
4. **2. Alexandros wrote at 3:03am on November 21st, 2007**
5. see?:p it's only that hotmail had a problem and you msut have gotten the same
6. email about 10 times!! Did you get home safe?
7. **3. Adrianne wrote at 3:11am on November 21st, 2007**
8. Yes I arrived ok! thanks for asking.. okay I only got it twice:p goodnight :)
9. **4. Alexandros wrote at 3:19am on November 21st, 2007**
10. No problem, I was concerned because the tube was not going there directly! goodnightxx
11. **5. Adrianne wrote at 2:39am on February 19th, 2008**
12. Happy Birthdayyy even if im a bit late :P whatever you desire, that you achieve xxxxx
13. **6. Alexandros wrote at 3:09pm on February 19th, 2008**
14. hehe, thank you Andrianne!:))
15. **7. Adrianne wrote at 12:11am on January 17th, 2009**
16. alexandros had? u had what?
17. **8. Alexandros wrote at 12:16am on January 17th, 2009**

18. *hehe... you think I should complete the sentence? alexandros had the time of his life*
19. *somehow?! the surprise...*
20. *was great btw:p*
21. **9. Adrienne wrote at 12:21am on January 17th, 2009**
22. *alexandros had an imaginary friend when he was younger and after his loss he has been*
23. *unable to make any real ones? :P*
24. **10. Alexandros wrote at 7:21pm on January 17th, 2009**
25. *As I see giangou's disease is contagious:p lets suppose its something like that!*
26. **11. Adrienne wrote at 2:01am on January 25th, 2009**
27. *Are you like the honey?? supposedly? sweet? :P ca va alexandre?*
28. **12. Alexandros wrote at 6:00pm on January 25th, 2009**
29. *oui, ca va, et toi, ca va?:p*
30. **13. Adrienne February 20 at 6:09 pm**
31. *I request that you stop expressing political beleiefs because you are the society's Chair*
32. *and a lot of people will think that your beliefs are shared by all the members!!!*

(Dataset D, Facebook thread B. Interaction between Alexandros and Andrianne throughout 2007-2010)

Notably, when their interaction began Adrienne was a newcomer in the Society (2007-2008), while for the 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 year Adrienne became a member of the Society's Committee, PR and Events officer and Vice-President respectively. The exchange of posts in the Facebook wall began in November 2007 and despite the fact that the posts are not regular (in terms of frequency), their interaction appears to be long-lasting throughout the years as shown below.

1. November 21st, 2007
2. February 19th, 2008
3. January 17th 2009
4. January 25th, 2009
5. February 20th, 2009
6. March 2nd, 2009
7. August 9th, 2009
8. January 13th, 2010

To begin with, posts 1-4 document an interaction occuring within the same day. Apparently, Adrienne and Alexandros have been together prior to their online interaction and therefore the reference to 'ma akoma na pas spiti...' (post 1, line 2), 'eftases spiti kala?' (post 2, line 6) and 'nai eftasa ok!' (post 3, line 8). In addition to that, their interaction was triggered by a Society related issue. More specifically an email was circulated to Society members by Alexandros. The Society functioned as

the basis on which Adrienne could begin her interaction with Alexandros in Facebook. The fact that the two were together in a Society related event (visit to the musical *Lion King*, see e-mail 4 in Appendix D1) prior to online communication is a facilitating factor in their interaction. In initiating an interaction for the first time Adrienne brought in their common membership in the Society; Alexandros as a member of the Committee who sends e-mails to members and Adrienne as a member of the Society who receives Society emails. Post 6 (line 13) and 7 (line 15) follow two months later and involve birthday wishes and thank you posts.

Up to this point, their interaction appears to be friendly but at the same time not intimate, as there is no teasing taking place whilst the two seem to relate their exchanges with the Society email updates to the members and a birthday wish. This is further supported by the fact that Adrienne as a newcomer did not know Alexandros very well, not only due to the difference in place of origin (Adrienne is from Limassol and Alexandros is from Nicosia) but also due to the fact that it was only the fifth event organized by the Society during the early months of the 2007/08 academic year. In contrast, posts 7 and onwards are generally characterized by teasing practices such as post 9 ('alexandros had an imaginary friend when he was younger and after his loss he has been unable to make any real ones? :P'), post 10 ('vlepw en kollitiki I asthenia tou yiangkou:P') and post 11 ('esi ise like the honey?? taxa? glykos? :P ca va alexandre'). Notably, these types of posts appear one year after (January 17th, 2009) their last post (February 19th, 2008). Their relationship has evolved within this time, and enabled through their Society membership. Such an assumption is based on the fact that during the Society elections in February-March 2008 Adrienne filed an application as a candidate for a position in the Committee for the 2008/2009 academic year. Adrienne's application was accepted and her duties began in September 2008 (up to this date). The fact that both participants join in teasing each other in consecutive posts exemplifies their mutual understanding and enjoyment of the teasing frame (Straehle, 1993:226).

Even more so, a reflection of the ties developed among the two is Adrienne's negative remark in post 13 (lines 30-31) which to use Schiffrin's term might be considered a case of 'sociable argument' (Schiffrin, 1984 cited in Straehle, 1993:227). In this post, Adrienne criticizes Alexandros' actions and provides an argument against such acts. However, her post does not entail the serious substance of an argument in that their taken-for-granted level of intimacy allows for tolerance of conflict through

the playful enactment of such conflict (Schiffrin, 1984:331 cited in Straehle, 1993:227). Frequent face-to-face contact and communication necessitated for Committee members, such as Adrienne and Alexandros, in order to coordinate the Society's practices, enabled the connection and development of close social links between the two, justifying in extent the teasing practices that characterizes their communication from that point of time onwards.

The course of developing friendship links between Society members is evident in yet an additional thread. Facebook communication between Eliza and Adrienne (See Appendix 9) spans from 2007 to 2010. According to posting frequency, the whole thread can be divided into 18 smaller threads as can be seen in the table below:

Sub-threads of Adrienne's and Eliza's Facebook Communication	Type of relationship between Adrienne and Eliza throughout the exchange of posts in Facebook
1. November 30 th -December 2 nd 2007 2. 26 th March 2008 3. 18 th April 2008-29 th July 2008 4. 26 th -28 th August 2008	Adrienne and Eliza were mere acquaintances and did not socialize with the same group of people.
5. 21 st November 2008 6. 6 th -8 th December 2008 7. 17 th February 2009 8. 6 th March 2009 9. 24 th -26 th March 2009 10. 11 th April 2009 11. 14 th May 2009 12. 17 th -18 th May 2009 13. 16 th October 2009 14. 23 rd November 2009 15. 30 th November 2009	During this time Adrienne and Eliza have become very close friends.
16. 3 rd March 2010 17. 15 th -16 th April 2010	Adrienne and Eliza maintained social intimacy but their contact was decreasing.
(Dataset D, Facebook thread C, November 2007-April 2010)	

Table 8
Facebook Communication between Adrienne and Eliza according to posting frequency and relationship type.

Dividing the thread according to the time of posting, it becomes evident that in most cases postings are characterized by a month's interval (sub-threads numbered: 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13 and 14) and in fewer cases a number of threads appear within the same month (sub-threads numbered: 5-6, 8-9, 11-12). To begin with, posts dated from November 30th 2007 to August 28th 2008 occurred during Eliza's membership in the Society's Committee as a Freshers Director and Adrienne's first year at the University and as a new member of the Society. During this time that the two girls were not very close their posts present the longest time lag in their interactions. Their posts revolve around the themes of 'wishes' (both expression of wishes and thank you replies) and 'studying'. Apparently the social distance of the girls at this stage is moderated by the introduction of themes shared by both participants (studying) and the expression of wishes.

From 21st November 2008 to 30th of November 2009 posts between the two girls increase and appear on a monthly basis. Increased Facebook contact during that time reflects the development of close links between the two girls as in September 2008 Adrienne has joined the Society's Committee as the Events-Public Relations Officer and has co-operated with Eliza who at that time held the position of Treasurer in the Committee. This is further supported in Adrienne's answer in the interview question 'Can you describe the circumstances under which you have formed close friendships with other Society members?'

Extract 4.25

Question: Could you describe the circumstances under which friendships or other links with Society members have occurred?

Participant: RES2: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 Vice President

1. Άλλη περίπτωση ήταν για παράδειγμα με την Eliza, όπου: ντάξει ε:
 2. ήταν το: ήρθαμε πιο κοντά φέτος επειδή ήμασταν οι δύο γυναίκες που
 3. ήταν μέλος της επιτροπής, ε: και σιγά σιγά το να βγαίνουμε έξω για
 4. καφέ και να ξεφεύγουμε, να ξεσκάσουμε ξέρω 'γω από το διάβασμα
 5. και τα λοιπά μας έφερε πιο κοντά ας πούμε.
-
1. [= Another instance for example was Eliza where: ok e: was the: we came
 2. closer this year because we were the only two women that were
 3. members of the Committee, e: and by time going out for coffee to get
 4. away, to ease our minds from study etc brought us closer lets say.]

(Dataset B, 06/04/09, Interview C)

Throughout Adrienne's and Eliza's Facebook post exchanges, the time during which the two were very close is marked by the employment of insider-jokes and teasing. For example expressions like 'param param paraaaaaam :)' in post 22, 'raaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaakkkkkki' in post 25 and in-jokes such as 'GLAROS' in post 18 and 'eteliwsen egw eimai kakouskia/kaktos se oti kanonizw :P ' in post 21 constitute expressions that may mean nothing to other people to whom the posts are visible but within the girls' relationship these can be seen as ways of strengthening the bond between the two in that the two girls are the only ones with 'access' to the implied and hidden meaning of their posts and this in extent highlights the relationship of the two friends who share an interactional history other than Facebook (offline and perhaps online) (Georgakopoulou, 2006:85). Additionally, it appears that in various cases the two girls exchange posts which carry hidden meanings. Such instances are: post 12 'EN ESHEIS LATHOUIIIIIII', post 16 'aaa I know :P e sorry I couldn't resist' and post 30 'file eshei pou tin kiriaki pou ekinises gia to astro tis anapolis...eftases???'. All the instances above are not parts of sequentially adjacent turns and introduce topics that in only one case (post 12) receive a request for clarification. Incoherence that would result in the exchange of such messages between people not sharing close connections does not occur here as no further requests for clarification are being made. Therefore the intended meaning appears to be conveyed by the addressed recipient excluding in a sense 'outside viewers' or in Goffman's terms 'bystanders' (cf. Goffman, 1981:132). The fact that expressions used constitute a shared code for the two while at the same time these appear to be meaningless for others allows the two to create 'insider' vs 'outsider' categories and in extent conduct in an online environment their offline ties.

An additional feature noted in most threads is the use of possessive pronouns and diminutives. In this particular thread the use of the possessive pronoun 'mou' is used extensively during the November 2007 to August 2008 period and is considerably dismissed during the November 2008-November 2009 period except in three cases: posts 15 and 29 in which the girls exchange birthday wishes and post 39 in which Adrienne uses the possessive 'mou' along with a nickname. In the latter case Adrienne's use of a nickname is preceded by Eliza's self-initiated nickname and the insertion of 'mou' is employed as a means to convey intimacy and support towards Eliza. In detail, Eliza at the time was suffering with breathing problems and was hospitalized a couple of times between mid and late October 2009. Adrienne was

the one who took Eliza to the hospital in late October. As follows the insertion of 'mou' in post 39 connotes feelings of support and protection towards Eliza.

Finally, posts during March-April 2010 are indicative of the relationship between Adrianne and Eliza. After a three-month interval of non-posting the thread appearing in March 3rd revolves around a discussion of an episode of a popular Greek TV drama which both girls watch. Following the March thread, the girls were found to communicate in April 2010, where Adrianne fails to understand Eliza's message. Eliza on the other hand picks up on Adrianne's status update and chooses Facebook Wall communication to enquire about her friend. During this time the girls were not in very close contact as Adrianne has moved to Stevenage for the 2009-2010 academic year in doing a placement. Based on participant observation, the final months of the 2009/10 academic year the two girls began drifting apart and this sort of communication can be considered to be indicative. It can be said that geographical distance has given its way to social distance that in extent shapes the relationship but importantly the frequency and quantity of interactions that characterizes socially distant relationships. In detail, it appears that once social distance became greater between the two friends the less frequent their interaction became and the more limited the quantity of posting.

In addition to the exchange of one-to-one posts, the extract below is part of an exchange of posts (See Appendix E4 for the full version) appearing between old-timers, new-comers and people outside the Society. These posts are a rather different form of data than most of the threads obtained from Facebook since it is an online interaction of various members and non-(official) members of the Society, appearing not in any of the members' Facebook wall but in the 'Inbox' section in Facebook. The 'inbox' in Facebook, can be considered as the more private version of the 'Wall', as messages exchanged in such are only visible between sender and receiver. In this thread Nataly forwards a message to all the other participants in the interaction, wanting to arrange a meeting, since she has now finished her studies at the particular university in which the Society operates, and is studying in a different university and part of England. Nataly produces a long post specifying the reason for posting to these people. Nataly's framing of the interaction as 'meeting arrangements' shifts away in subsequent posts and moves on the 'play' frame where interactants tease each other through the exchange of ironic comments.

Extract 4.26

Description: Facebook posts between Society members in the private messaging facility 'Inbox' in Facebook.

Participants: Nataly (former Society member), Andreas (external), Giannis (external), Alexandros (Society's 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 Chair) and Valentina (researcher).

1. **2. Andreas October 17 at 10:57pm**
2. exo mia polla kali idea.. na ertete na akousete ton DJ ash sto party tou imperial
3. tin triti ... tssssssssssssssssssss
4. **3. Giannis October 17 at 11:01pm**
5. se etsi paliopanepistimia en paw egw :P
6. **4. Nataly October 17 at 11:06pm**
7. dld telika re nikoletta mono i diki sou apantisi itan tis prokopis (vale tin na tin
8. doun kai oi alloi)tststststs kala ashioti en eperimena na protinis kati
9. diaforetiko...panagia mu en exo orexi gia mathitika party idika se etsi
10. panepistimia:P:P ego protimo na pame kapou emis...tsiame esi ena pezis , ena
11. eine pitta kai en tha mporo kan na miliso kanenou!
12. **5. Andreas October 18 at 12:33am**
13. re marnere, afou tsiame espoudases... ?? nataly tha sou kleiso VIP kai tha sou
14. piaso kai ena TILEVOA gia na mporeis na milas me olo ton kosmo :-)
15. **6. Alexandros October 18 at 12:39am**
16. eshi tipotis? pe m... ishes kouventes re andrea! aman sou laloume na pexis gia
17. ta party mas kathimerines kamnis mas koujia... twra pezis ke trites

1. **2. Andreas October 17 at 10:57pm**
2. [= I've got a really good idea.. come and listen to DJ ash at the imperial's party
3. On tuesday ... tssssssssssssssssssss
4. **3. Giannis October 17 at 11:01pm**
5. I don't go in such worthless universities :P
6. **4. Nataly October 17 at 11:06pm**
7. So at the end of the story it was only your answer Eliza that was worth it (post it so
8. everyone can see it) tststststs needles to say ashioti I ddn't expect you to suggest
9. anything different...jesus I am not it the mood for student parties especially in these
10. universities:P:P I suggest we go somewhere when its just us...you will be playing
11. music there, it will be packed and I won't be able to talk to anyone!
12. **5. Andreas October 18 at 12:33am**
13. marnere, isn't it there that you studied.. ?? nataly I will book VIP for you and I will
14. get you a LOUDSPEAKER as well so you can tak with everyone :-)
15. **6. Alexandros October 18 at 12:39am**
16. What's up? Be..... straight with me andrea! When we ask you to play for
17. our party on weekdays you react ... now you are playing on Tuesdays

(Dataset D, 17th-18th October, Facebook thread D)

Even though the topic of arranging to meet up is at the background what appears more prevalent in this thread is teasing targeted at Andreas and his suggestion (post 2). In post 3 (line 5) Giannis directly contests Andreas' suggestion through irony and

more specifically with reference to ‘paliopanepistimia’ (worthless university). In this instance instead of rejecting Andreas’ invitation to see him playing (note that DJ Ash is Andreas’ self-selected label) Giannis supposedly does not approve of the university. In post 4, Nataly picks up on Giannis’ ironic comment and continues teasing Andreas by posting in lines 9-10 ‘idika se etsi panepistimia:P:P’ (especially in that sort of universities). This becomes clearer when in post 5 Andreas identifies the irony by posting a come-back directed to Giannis: ‘Re marnere afou tsiamе espoudases....???’ (But that is where you studied...???) and is therefore indicated that in reality Giannis does not disapprove of the university but rather indirectly rejects Andreas’ suggestion. Additionally, Andreas by explicitly referring to Nataly, provides a come-back through the cynical comment ‘nataly tha sou kleiso VIP kai tha sou piaso kai ena TILEVOA gia na mporeis na milas me olo ton kosmo :-)’. Andreas in this case posts a scornful comment towards Nataly’s reasons for not wanting to attend to the party suggested by Andreas. Generally speaking the three members engage in a playful teasing exchange, all of them in negotiating their ‘face’. In a sense post 3 and 4 appear to threaten Andreas’ positive face since through irony Nataly and Giannis express their disapproval and rejection of Andreas’ suggestion. Andreas in post 5 performs a face-saving act by drawing attention to Nataly’s needs and wants (i.e. to be comfortable and be able to talk). It is also worthy of attention that in all three posts (3, 4 and 5) the ironic and cynical comments are followed by the insertion of emoticons, which serve as indicators of how the meaning of the post should be conveyed.

In the last post (See post 9 in Appendix E4) Valentina (researcher), was not an active participant in the teasing that others have engaged in and therefore, tries to get hold of the floor with reference to the initial purpose and topic of this thread. What this thread exemplifies is some sort of shared history, experience and familiarity between participants in the form of teasing practices such as irony and cynicism, which otherwise would be considered as face threatening acts. An interesting issue that rises from this thread is that when forming a community, members of the Society were able to develop links with people bearing different membership statuses. For example, newcomers were able to form links with old-times and ‘external’ members, and vice versa. Such relations among members are crucial aspects of community formation, as no community can be formed if members do not communicate shared connections, understandings and shared history of interpersonal relations.

In detail, teasing practices, knowledge regarding each others' social identities, terms of address, intimacy markers, ironic comments and topics of discussion that are documented in the interactions either in initial or subsequent posts demonstrate that member relations flourish through available communication tools, part of the Society's repertoire of resources. Frequent offline and online communication reflects the members' understanding of the importance of frequency and intensity of exposure for the sustenance of their bonds and connections. It is fair to say that Society membership could be made relevant in interactions as a resource allowing for interpersonal contact, or become the background against which member relations develop. The Society therefore can be said to provide the grounds on which interpersonal contact develops, allowing members to communicate what matters as important, either that be Society related or not.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to locate the possible stages of development, its structural elements and how through these, communication is likely to develop. Stages of CoP development adopted from Wenger (see section 3.2.1) were employed to describe the Society's path throughout the span of an academic year in as much as they describe the possible 'developmental stages' of the participants' membership. Throughout an academic year, the Society manages to flourish and become a social structure defined by members' needs; such needs are enabled through resources members employ such as relation building through gatherings and communication across media. Wenger's description of a community's entire life-cycle through the five stages of development cannot be applied in those terms for the Greek-Cypriot student Society as a unit. The argument put forward here is that the life-cycle proposed by Wenger describes the stages of an individual's development in the community rather than the community's as a whole. This argument stems from the fact that repeatability of the stages of development for the student Society is at a great extent systematically ordered by its transitory population. Every new member has to go through some sort of process of apprenticeship starting from the coalescing stage and therefore the repeatability. An individual's course from his point of entry into the Society up until their departure is in essence 'their' stages of development. Surely, the community may be different structure-wise but if mutual engagement in joint

enterprise remains the same, then the community remains the same; the goals are similar with what initially were, with the difference that different actors engage in practice.

Key features of the Society (domain, practice and community) as understood from the CoP perspective were identified through the analysis of interviews. The analysis of the interviews indicated that community membership for the members is more often than not related to their identity as being Cypriot. More precisely, in the category-question 'opinion about culture-related events' the themes of 'contact with home', 'tradition' and 'language' was made relevant, while in the category-question 'opinion about general Society events' members made relevant themes such as 'contact with other Cypriots'. Additionally, in the category-question 'reasons for Society's existence' the theme of 'contact with home' was also prevailing. The pattern here emerging is that community bonds and membership derive from members' needs to maintain links with 'home', culture and tradition. To put it simply, members' experience and participation in Society practices derives from their 'alignment' and self-identification with the Cypriot identity. Ethnic identity comes to shape the members' perception of the Society's character and its joint enterprise. Ethnic identity was highlighted here as what shapes the community's domain and considering the importance given to this issue by the participants, ethnic identity is discussed in great detail in chapter 7. In chapter 7, ethnic identity is approached through the issue of language; language becomes a central factor for the definition of ethnic identity, which in extent defines membership rights.

The e-mails circulated by the Society are indicative of the importance of communication in that they are pertaining to member needs. The analysis of Society e-mails suggests that:

- a) the e-mail frequency reflects the Society's stages of community development
- b) the predominant language choice in e-mail subject headings is English language
- c) the choice of Greek with subsequent English translation in the main body of the e-mail is only predominant in the 2007/08 (50%) while in the 2008/09 and 2009/10 English language is the predominant choice (70% and 88% respectively), and
- d) use of greetings is a strategy employed to express solidarity and personalise messages, while use of closings is a way of signalling respect towards the

audience, providing fuller identification of the sender and signalling responsibility over the content of the e-mail.

The e-mails collected, indicated that the Society aims to represent itself as a legitimate entity with goals and objectives, through the formality preserved in the e-mails. At the same time, the use of Greek language and information about events that in cases involve some inherent ethnic element in them indicates a recognition of its members identity and of the group's as a whole.

Additionally, the documentation of the Society's practises in its website, the naming of the website after the Society serve to delineate the target audience and generally become a 'virtual' tool constructed in reifying the experience of Society membership and the history shared throughout its course. Through the website the Society is able to represent itself as a legitimate and formal institution.

Nonetheless, "mutual engagement requires interactions" (Wenger, 1998:74); the development of community bonds was reflected in members' social expansiveness through exposure to interaction. It was found that in members' Facebook communication, teasing practices such as nicknames and ironic comments as well as the use of addressing devices such as diminutives and last possessive pronoun use marked the development of member interaction and expressed conversational solidarity. Ethnographic notes as well as the analysis of such linguistic devices indicated that when members' offline relations begun flourishing, uses of teasing practices, addressing devices in the form of diminutives and pronoun use started to emerge in their Facebook communication. Terms of address (nicknames), intimacy markers (name or other adjectives), use of possessive pronoun and teasing practices have shown to characterise the communication of members in the process of developing links and in expressing conversational solidarity.

Overall, this chapter provided insights into the ways in which the community comes to (re)form every academic year and the ways in which relations between members are occasioned over time and across media (see section 1.1). Approaching the data through an ethnographically informed interactional analysis brought to the fore linguistic strategies used both in Society e-mails and members' interactional activity in achieving a sense of community and member links. In the former case this was possible through specific language choices and in the latter through the use of intimacy markers including teasing, nicknaming and use of pronouns and diminutives.

The nature of member relationships and member positions within the Society is bound to have an effect on the means through which interactional encounters are carried out, the quality and degree of communication, largely depending on the group's repertoire and on members' social relationships. The following chapter (chapter 5) deals with the investigation of social networks and close-knit groups within the Society as well as Society positions and the ways in which these affect members' communicative encounters.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIETY-RELATED AND INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION: CHOICE OF MEDIUMS AND PATTERNS OF USE

5. Introduction

As shown in Chapter 4, participation in a community, which can be described as an on-going process (process of regular engagement in practice, communication and relations maintenance means being subject to constant influence), requires some sort of affiliation with the Society's goals, objectives and most importantly practices. By actively engaging in practices accustomed within a community members' constitute their presence as well as their identity as members of that community. A community's shared history and member links are mainly achieved through participation that is encouraged through resources that are embedded in the community's social practices and processes (Wenger, 1998:82-85). In order to understand the ways in which a community is held together as a unit, one has to understand the kinds of connections existing between the members.

As follows, the aim of the present chapter is to look at the ways in which members' relations with regards to the Society as well as with other members shape choices of communication mediums and patterns of use. This chapter provides valuable answers for the following questions (see section 1.1):

- a) What are members' use of communication mediums in their everyday practices?
- b) In what ways are particular choices of communication mediums related to the types of member relations and
- c) What types of communication mediums are chosen for Society-related businesses and what is their function?

In order to address such issues, different types of data had to be employed. Data employed come from four data sets: diaries and interviews with the 10 focal participants, Facebook threads and face-to-face recordings. More precisely, interviews provided participants' accounts on the extent of their participation and diaries provided written documentations of the participants' use of communication media in everyday interactions. Facebook threads among focal participants provided insights into the types of interactions. More precisely, Facebook threads reflecting

communication between close friends and non-close friends (a categorization that emerged from the Sociogram, Section 5.1) were incorporated for the investigation of Facebook communication and its relation to member relations. Finally, participant observation was used as a supplementary source of information. Additionally, participant relationships were investigated in a similar vein.

The data were analysed within a CoP and SNA (Social Network Analysis) perspective (See Section 2.4 for a description of the SNA framework) as SNA provides useful tools in describing patterns of relationships (Maddrell, 2008:11) while CoP highlights the importance of the quality of interactions, by requiring regular and mutually defining contact (Holmes and Meyerhoff, 1999:180). Therefore the coalescence of the two analytical methods was extremely beneficial for the particular research as it gave insights on the types of social relations that might exist as well as the ways in which communication media available in the community were utilized to serve such social relations. SNA (Milroy, 1980) sheds light on aspects of smaller social networks within the community but also complements the analysis with regards to the identification of member relations and the patterns and implications of those relationships in interactions (Meyerhoff, 2006:184-185) – a focus that the CoP model lacks concentration on. On the other hand, the focus of CoP on meaning making allows for the investigation of: a) member interactions in particular communication mediums and b) the ways in which affordances and constraints of the chosen media are mobilized by the members in their interactions.

5.1 The formation of close-knit groups

A first step towards the analysis of data was to identify any sub-groups or close-knit groups that might be of existence. This was mainly achieved by collecting participant accounts of their close friendships¹⁴. In order to define the social networks from the information gathered through the interviews, I focused on an interview-specific question, that is ‘Μπορείς να μου ονομάσεις τους φίλους σου;’ (Can you name your friends?). In this instance the coding was to locate which individuals were named as friends. On the basis of the participants’ answers it was possible to build a Sociogram, i.e. a graphic representation of the participant’s social links, as shown below.

¹⁴ See Appendix C3 for interview extracts of the participants’ naming of close friends.

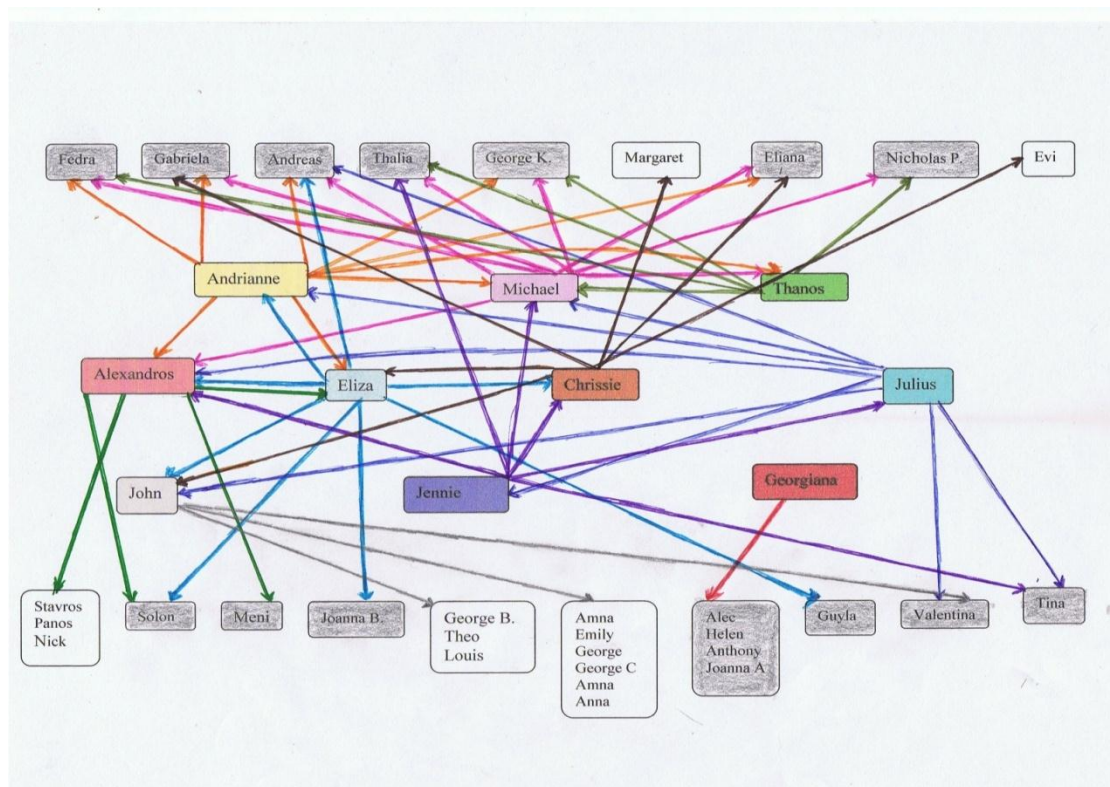


Figure 13
Sociogram

The Sociogram illustrates participant connections involving both focal participants (shaded in colour and placed in the middle of the figure) members of the Society (shaded in grey at the top and bottom of the figure), as well as non-members of the Society (white background boxes at the top and bottom of figure). Notably however, it must be taken into consideration that the Sociogram is merely based on participants' accounts and is far from being a strict picture of social networking, since reciprocal naming may sometimes not be achieved, due to various factors such as forgetting the mentioning of a friend or mutuality of feelings. Taking the Sociogram as a starting point, an additional table was created which presents the focal participants and the close-knit groups they have formed between one another. It must be noted that for reasons of relevance only the naming of focal participants is pictured in Table 9 below.

Focal Participants Named	Naming References to Focal Participants Of Each Participant									
	John	Alexandros	Eliza	Andrienne	Chrissie	Michael	Thanos	Jennie	Julius	Georgiana
John			✓		✓				✓	
Alexandros			✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	
Eliza		✓		✓	✓					
Andrienne			✓						✓	
Chrissie	✓		✓					✓		
Michael				✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Thanos				✓	✓	✓				
Jennie									✓	
Julius								✓		
Georgiana										

Note: 1) Each individual's close-knit group is vertically represented and given in colour.
2) Each individual's presence in different close-knit groups is horizontally represented

Table 9
Focal participants naming references to close-knit friends

Table 9 shows multiple close-knit groups (shaded in different colours) among the members of the Society, with some members even having positions in more than one close-knit group. The positioning in multiple close-knit groups also alludes to the positions of the focal participants in relation to the Society, in that through the identification of the groups it is possible to see whether members are seen as peripheral members. More precisely, by looking at reciprocal- naming one can gain a picture of how that person is positioned not only with relation to others but also in relation to the Society. The inclusion or exclusion of an individual in the multiple groups that have emerged gives insights into where that individual is placed within the Society.

Generally speaking, from a Social Network perspective the 'HEI Cypriot Society can be said to form a rather 'loose type of network' (see section 2.4), as even though people know each other, not all members know each other closely or even personally. This very fact can be said to both facilitate exposure and contact with 'outsiders' as well as influence the formation of sub-groups in that there is less pressure to abide to the rules 'imposed' by any group committee, and no necessity for intensive contact with everyone (Meyerhoff, 2006:187). As was shown in the Sociogram (Figure 13), members of the Society tend to develop social links between members and non-members (See white shaded boxes in the Sociogram for non-members); links that may be based on various factors such as, being members of the Committee (e.g. Eliza, Alexandros, John, Adrienne, Chrissie), being roommates (e.g. Thanos- Michael) and being classmates (e.g. Jennie-Julius).

Sub-groups are more likely to be created when based on ‘multiplex networks’ (e.g. individuals linked through various social relationships such as flat-mates, colleagues etc) (Bergs, 2006:2). For example, in one of the close-knit groups identified (Thanos-Michael) the multiplicity of ties can be reflected in the fact that both are males, both are Cypriot, both are members of the Society and they both live together. The same holds true for other groups, whose close contact is triggered by a combination of connections among the members. For example in the groups involving Eliza, Chrissie, Alexandros, Adrianne and John, both couples, Chrissie - Adrianne and Alexandros - John take the same course in a different year of study, Eliza and Chrissie live together, Alexandros lived with Eliza the previous 2 years, and all 4 members but Adrianne come from Nicosia. However, the fact that some members pictured in Table 3 have positions in most groups while others do not have this capacity (e.g. Michael is part of 5 close-knit groups, while Georgiana is not part of any group) does not mean that they are in no contact at all.

Notably, relationships between people that do not form close-knit groups might be characterized by ‘weak ties’ (low transactional content, low frequency, low degree of reciprocity) (Bergs, 2006:2). However, that is not to mean that either strong or weak ties are uniform both within and outside close-knit groups. Ties may vary in direction (giver-receiver), they may vary in content (interactions around sports to one individual and classes to another), frequency (daily, weekly etc.) and medium (face-to-face, e-mail, Facebook, telephone). (Katz et. al, 2004:309). In the present study, strong or weak ties are taken to be links among individuals whose strength depends on transactional content and frequency, degree of reciprocity and on the ways in which specific choices of communication media are associated with particular types of relationships (see section 5.3 and 5.4). In this section, individuals who are part of more interlinked groups have been identified as well as the ones who are less central in the social groups. In terms of social positioning, this finding suggests that lack of ties results in being in the periphery not only in terms of these groupings but also in terms of the Society as a whole. The Society is made of smaller social groups (close-knit friendship groups) which are nevertheless interlinked in constituting a larger community; weak ties with individuals forming groupings result in marginal positions. This finding brings to the fore issues of power imbalance between core and periphery which I will subsequently discuss in chapter 6.

Admittedly, people can choose between their ascribed relationships, with whom they prefer to relate to, how often, what, and if they want to exchange; a process described as the rise of an ‘intimate society’, which however does not imply a simple dyadic structure, but a multiplex and network structure (Bellotti, 2008: 319), which can be reflected in members’ intersecting social groups. That is to mean that social links are multiplex in terms of close-knit group multimembership, allowing for the rise of smaller ‘sub-communities’ operating under the umbrella of the Society.

5.2 Members’ everyday practices: references to media choices

Admittedly, in order to look into the ways in which member positions and relations affect choices of communication mediums, it seems crucial to firstly establish the repertoire of communication mediums that members have at their disposal. Taking up the diaries as the main data source documenting members’ everyday practices, it was possible to document the use of various choices of communication employed by the participants (Figure 14). It was noted that the participants’ actual communicative patterns privilege face-to-face contact and new media contact when it comes to their relations with close friends. This preference is indicated in the following Figures (12 and 13) which show the 9 focal participants’ communication choices documented in their diaries for a period of 8 days, as part of their everyday practices.

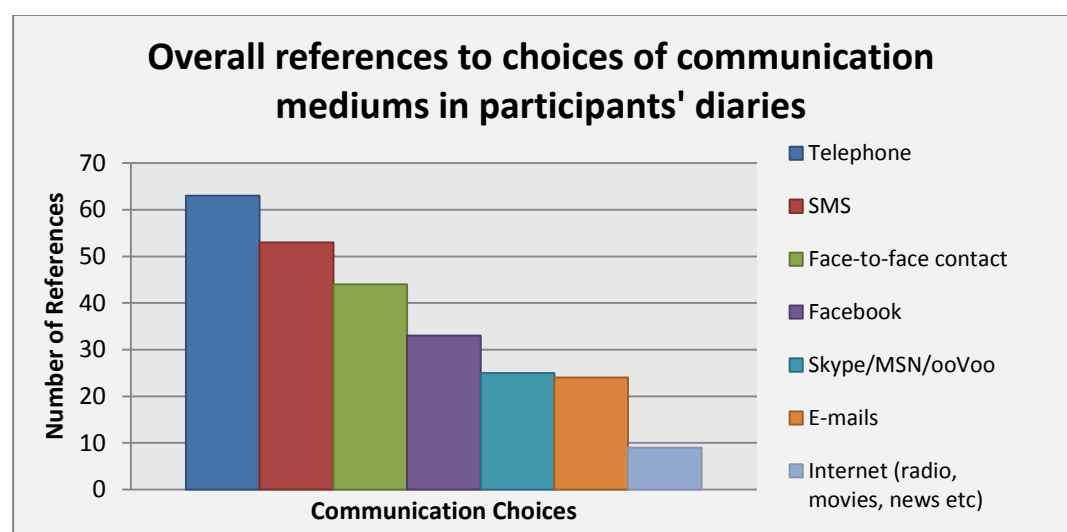


Figure 14
Diary references to communication choices

What seems to persist as an often used choice of communication medium in the figure above is the use of mobile telephone communication, with that of SMS and face-to-face contact following. It could be stated that when face-to-face contact with close friends is not possible, participants show a preference for the mobile telephony, that resembles face-to-face communication; and by resemblance I am referring to the synchronicity of communication and availability of audio cues during telephone communication. However, what also emerged from a more detailed categorization of media choices in the diaries is that participants' communication choices differ from one individual to another, as shown in Figure 15. In cases when face-to-face contact is not available some of the participants privilege CMC communication while others privilege telephone and texting (SMS communication).

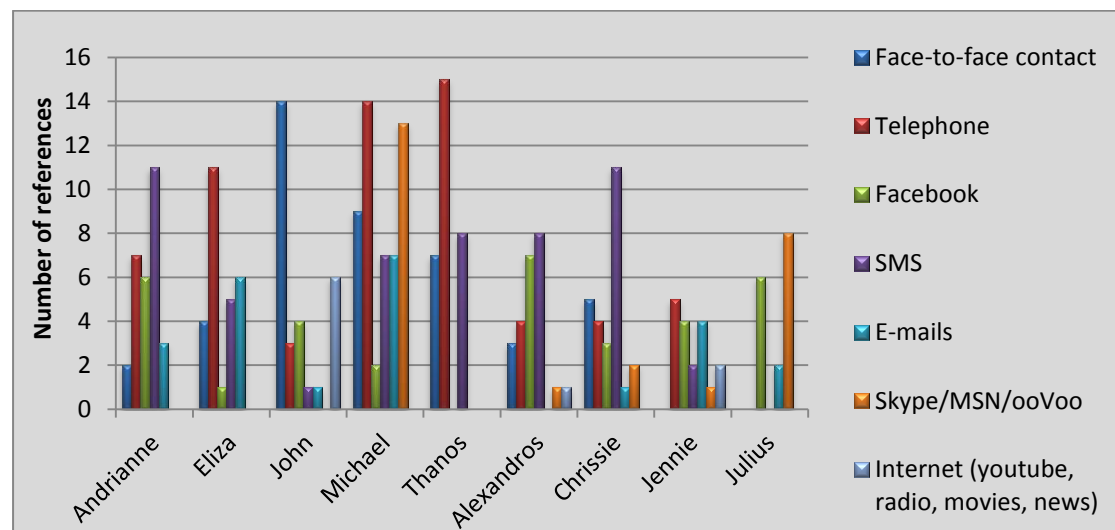


Figure 15
Diary references to communication choices for each participant

Different contextual parameters such as geographical distance, appear to affect specific choices of medium. For example, Thanos' (see section 3.3.1 for participant profiles) increasing reference to the use of Skype and MSN can be explained by the fact that such communications mainly involve his communication with his girlfriend who studies in Greece, and with whom face-to-face contact is not possible. It is suspected that telephone contact and SMS contact are not preferred as a subsidiary communication medium due to the high international call rates. On the same grounds, Andrianne's use of SMS, e-mails and Facebook to communicate with a close friend (Eliza) is explicitly justified in both of the girls' diary entries as shown below:

Extract 5.1

Participant: RES6: Eliza, 20 year old female, Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/2009 Treasurer

Diary entry:

.LOG

1. 10:45 13/10/2009 Emailed Adrianne just to say goodmorning and wish her
2. to have a nice day (no signal in NAME at Stevenage)

(Dataset F, 13/10/09, Diary C)

Extract 5.2

Participant: RES2: Adrianne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 Vice President

Diary entry:

.LOG

23:13 15/10/2009

1. simera esteile mou kalimera i eliza apo txt message kai meta facebook
2. message epd en exw sima sti douleia..

1. [= today eliza text me goodmorning and then a facebook message because
2. I don't have signal at work..)]

(Dataset F, 15/10/09, Diary D)

Both Adrianne and Eliza, appear to justify their choice of particular medium choice in their diaries, indicating in a sense that this is not how they would usually communicate if Adrianne did not work at a company whose network signal was bad. It can be assumed that both girls might not have chosen the 'private message' facility in Facebook to communicate a wish for a good day, or a 'good morning wish' under normal circumstances. Reference to 'no signal' allows us to think that the preferable communication media for such purposes would be a telephone call. Additionally, in the case of Adrianne (Figure 15), one can see an increased use of texting as a communication choice, which can be explained by the fact that at that point of time Adrianne was based at Stevenage doing a placement for her degree. Therefore, the absence of face-to-face contact resulted in her increased usage firstly of text messages and secondly telephone contact.

In a similar vein, Eliza and Michael tend to use texting more than other means of communication (Figure 15). Chrissie on the other hand appears to be privileging face-to-face contact. Alexandros', Thanos', John's and Jennie's use of mobile telephony appears to be the preferred and most frequent choice of communication mode. Despite the fact that such media choices comprise the tools of the Society's shared repertoire,

each one of the participants appears to privilege particular communication modes and not others in their everyday practices. Participant observation suggests that such choices are determined by personal choice, geographical distance, but also by their social relationships and therefore it is worth looking at the ways in which the participants employ such communication choices in their relations with close friends and intimates.

5.3 Media Choices with Friends and Intimates

Drawing from participant observation as well as from the information in Figure 15 it appears that each participant favours different types of communication depending on: a) contextual parameters such as living together resulting in increased face-to-face contact, or being out of town or living in a different area resulting in increased SMS or telephone communication, and b) on personal preferences with regards to particular medium choices.

To begin with, Michael (see section 3.3.1 for participant profiles) for example privileges texting. Because Michael lives in a flat in a different area than most of his friends, when communicating with them he chooses texting which is a quick means of communication. However, I cannot oversee the fact that for such purposes he could have used telephone communication, and therefore I am led to conclude that perhaps this shows a preference for the particular communication choice. Likewise, the same assumption can hold true for Eliza's case, in that, while she also lives with Chrissie and other friends, she still made more frequent references to texting in comparison to telephone communication and face-to-face contact. Likewise, Chrissie's preference of FtF contact. This can be explained by the fact that most of the people that Chrissie has named as close friends (See Sociogram, Figure 13) – including both members and non-members - live together with Chrissie in the same halls of residence and therefore face-to-face contact with them is frequent if not daily.

In the case of Alexandros and John increased use of mobile telephony is what characterizes their everyday practices. When asked about how often he sees his friends during the interview, Alexandros stated that a frequent communication choice he makes with friends is either telephone calls or texting.

Extract 5.3.

Question: How often do you see your friends?

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

1. Συνήθως, συνήθως μιαν φορά την εβδομάδα [...] Αλλά εν να μιλήσουμε
 2. κάθε μέρα, είτε μέρα παρά μέρα εν να μιλήσουμε έστω με μηνύματα, με
 3. τηλεφωνήματα κάπως εν να αυτό [...]
-
1. [= Usually, usually it is once a week [...] But we will talk either every
 2. day, or every other day, we will talk to the least with texts, with
 3. telephone calls we will somehow do that [...]]

(Dataset B, 03/04/09, Interview B)

The use of the word 'έστω' ('to the least') in line 2 of his statement alludes to the fact that perhaps when it comes to close friends texting is considered to be the last acceptable choice of communication. John, on the other hand, explicitly states that he has a preference for mobile telephone use rather than texting when communicating with friends and therefore this explains the high frequency of reference to phone calls in his diary.

Extract 5.4

Question: How do you communicate with your friends?

Participant: RES4: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/2009 Fresher's Director, 2009/2010 Events/sports Officer

1. [...] Εε...είμαι περισσότερο άνθρωπος του τηλεφώνου παρά μεεεε παρά με
 2. μηνύματα και λοιπά..
-
1. [= [...] Ee...I am more of a telephone person rather than, rather than
 2. Texts and others...]

(Dataset B, 01/03/09, Interview A)

Munkejord (2007:96) proposes that

“Contextual determinants such as people, practices, and technologies that are specified according to a particular set of circumstances will determine a particular mix of media.”

Personal preferences and ease of contact determine particular media choices, but it must also be taken into consideration that members' social relations, are bound to play a significant role in communication choices. For example a number of participants maintained that when it comes to people they have close connections with, they prefer to use text messages, phone calls, MSN and Facebook.

Extract 5.5

Question: How do you communicate with your friends?

Participant: RES8: Chrissie, 20 year old female, Society's 2009-2010 Fresher's Director

1. Τηλέφωνο, Facebook, e-mails οί τόσο...ναι εε τσαι ναι εε texts
1. [= Telephone, Facebook, e-mails not that much....yes eee and yes ee texts]

(Dataset B, 19/05/09, Interview H)

Extract 5.6

Question: How do you communicate with your friends?

Participant: RES3: Thanos, 22 year old male, Society's 2009-2010 Web Officer

1. Ντάξει είπαμε συγκατοίκηση ναι βλέπω τους και λοιπά, ναι αλλά άμαν τύχει
2. τσαι κόψουμε μακριά είναι μέσω τηλεφώνου, ναι...τηλέφωνο εν να έλεα,
3. εννοώ οί τόσο Skype ή οτιδήποτε.
1. [= Okay, we live together, yes I see them and all, yes but if it happens that
2. we are apart from each other it is through telephone, yes...I would say
3. telephone, I mean not so much Skype or anything]

(Dataset B, 13/05/09, Interview G)

Extract 5.7

Question: How do you communicate with your friends?

Participant: RES6: Eliza, 20 year old female, Society's 2007/2008 Fresher's Director, 2008/2009 Treasurer

1. Με κάθε τρόπο δυνατό. Προτιμώ να βλέπω τον άλλο εννοώ να τον πιάσω
2. τηλέφωνο να του πώ 'πάμε για ένα καφέ' να συζητήσουμε το τάδε τάδε θέμα,
3. αλλά ντάξει τηλέφωνο, Facebook πάρα πολλά, MSN σίγουρα, text
4. messages...τα πάντα.
1. [= With every possible way. I prefer to see the other person, I mean call
2. them and say "let's go for a coffee" to discuss X, X issue,
3. but okay telephone, Facebook very much, definitely MSN, text messages
4. ...everything.]

(Dataset B, 09/05/09, Interview F)

Extract 5.8

Question: How do you communicate with your friends?

Participant: RES2: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 President)

1. Τηλέφωνααα, μηνύματα, Facebook, e-mail, ...ναι.
1. [= Telephone calls, texts, Facebook, e-mails...yes]

(Dataset B, 06/04/09, Interview C)

Extract 5.9

Question: How do you communicate with them

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

1. Εε παραπάνω μεε τηλεφώνημα ή μήνυμα. Συνήθως...με τους άμεσα τους
2. τους..

1. [*= Most times with phoncall or text. Usually...with my immediate...]*

(Dataset B, 03/03/09)

Extract 5.10

Question: How do you communicate with your friends?

Participant: RES4: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/2009 Fresher's Director, 2009/2010 Events/sports Officer

1. Ε συνήθως είναι ή με προσωπική επαφή, εννοώ να συναντηθούμε, να πάμε
2. κάπου, αν και προτιμώ περισσότερο να έρχονται σπίτι μου. Εεε τσαι το
3. επόμενο μέσο εν τω τηλέφωνο εε...είμαι περισσότερο άνθρωπος του
4. τηλεφώνου παρά μεεεε παρά με μηνύματα και λοιπά...ξέρεις τώρα η
5. τεχνολογία επιτρέπει μας τσαι μέσω του Internet ναα να μιλούμε, εε
6. χρησιμοποιούμε το ooVoo, Skype κλπ. Το Facebook οϊ τόσο, εε...

1. [*= It is with either personal contact, I mean meeting up, going somewhere,*
2. *even though I prefer having people at home. Eem and the next means*
3. *is the telephone em..i am more of a teephone person rather than,*
4. *rather than message and that...you know technology now allows us to talk*
5. *through the Internet as well, em use ooVoo, Skype etc. Facebook not that*
6. *much, em...]*

(Dataset B, 01/03/09, Interview A)

According to the extracts above, and considering the answers of most interviewees, it has been found that the primary means through which members of the Society wish to maintain communication with their close friends or contacts, is via face-to-face contact. If that is not possible due to their studying programs or time restraints, mediational means are employed in order to maintain contact. Interestingly the mediational means the participants employ when communicating with friends following in order of preference are: telephone calls, texts and finally Facebook or MSN. This was realized when the participants' answers to the question 'How do you communicate with people you have close connections with?' The figure below shows participants' media choices in close-friend communication on the basis of their referral to such in a particular order in the interviews.

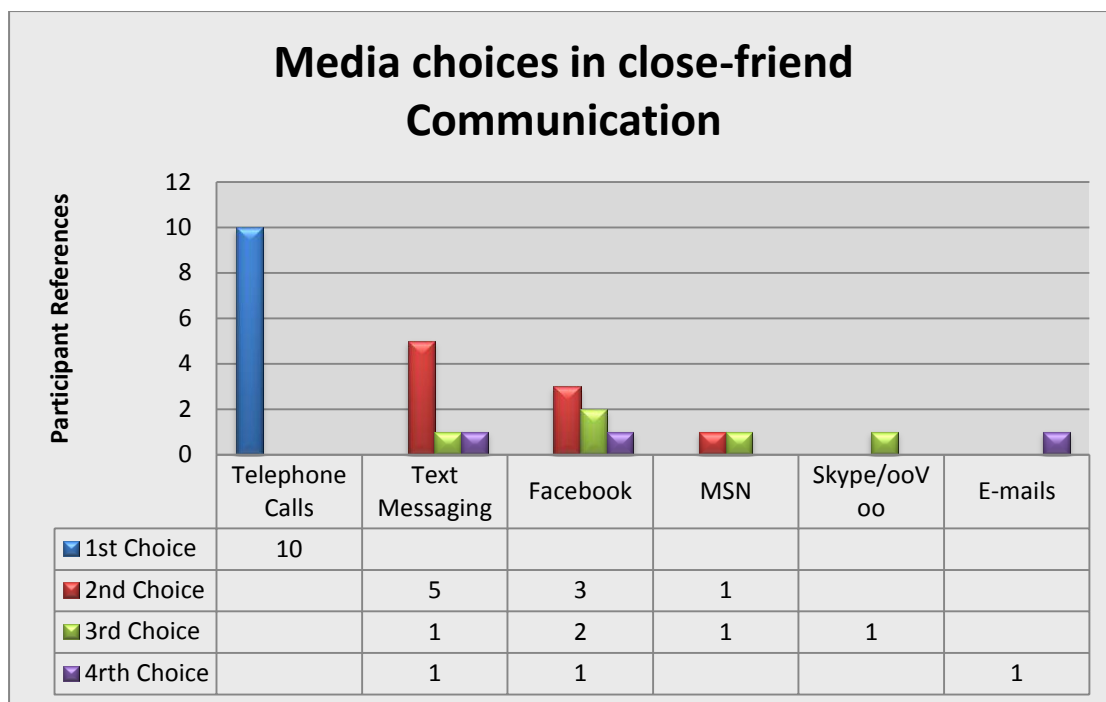


Figure 16
Media choices in close-friend communication

In response to the question ‘How do you communicate with them (your friends)?’ all the participants referred to telephone calls first, some to text messaging and some to Facebook. The referral to such means in almost the same order is not considered here to be coincidental. Perhaps the use of telephone and text messaging communication is considered to be a more direct form of communication than those of Facebook, MSN, Skype or e-mails, which follow up as more distant. The bigger social intimacy and solidarity is the greater the use of telephone communication is employed by participants. The more distant the connection (both socially and geographically), it seems more likely to use the additional means of communication (i.e. Facebook) available from the Society members’ media resources. Research conducted on interpersonal media competition by Ramirez et al. (2008) shows that besides the existence of e-mails, the appearance of IM (Instant Messaging) as a new form of communication, and the landline, the use of mobile phones seemed to have greater usage.

By using gratification niches as a point of comparison, mobile phone usage has shown to be superior to e-mail, IM and landlines when it came to gratifications such as ‘fast’, ‘coordinate’, ‘time’, ‘personal’, ‘close’, ‘conversational’, ‘care’, ‘companionship’ and ‘advice’ (Ramirez et al., 2008:539, 541). The results of the

research mentioned conform to the argument made with regards to the student Society under study. The use of telephone communication distinguishes it from text-based media, as it serves more direct and fast functions and because of the rapport as well as the mobility it provides (Ramirez et al., 2008:540). In support of this are the following extracts from the participants' diaries referring to their everyday practices.¹⁵

Extract 5.11

Participant: RES6: Eliza, 20 year old female, Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/2009 Treasurer

Diary entry:

.LOG

1. Interpersonal Contact 13/10 18:00 dinner with Solomis Chrissie and Eliza
2. Interpersonal Contact 13/10 22:00 get together with Chrissie Ileana Maria
3. Gabriela and Margarita (chat and games)
4. Phone Call Adrianne 14/10 13:10 just to chat.

(Dataset E, 13th-14th October 2009, Diary C)

Extract 5.12

Participant: RES10: Michael, 22 year old male, Society's 2008/2009 Sports Officer and 2009/2010 Vice President

Diary entry:

.LOG

20/10/09

1. phone: with fedra and thalia to arrange dinner for Thursday

(Dataset E, 20th October 2009, Diary F)

Extract 5.13

Participant: RES7: Jennie, 19 year old female, Society member

Diary entry:

.LOG

23:44 13/10/2009

1. telephone: talked with Christina to arrange to meet

(Dataset E, 13th October 2009, Diary I)

As is evident from the above documentation of participants' daily practices, face-to-face contact is what distinguishes close-knit groups (e.g. Fedra and Thalia were named by Michael as his close friends, and Christina was named by Jennie as her

¹⁵ For participant diary examples please see Appendix E

close friend), with the use of telephone being the next preferable means of communication.

Overall, the choices of communication media referred to in extracts 5.5 -5.13 and shown in Figure 16 – i.e. the increased use of telephone communication, text-messaging, Facebook, e-mails and Skype/MSN – show that the choice of a particular medium instead of another produces and reproduces social structure (Licoppe and Smoreda, 2005:322). Telephone use has been found to be the primary means which the participants employ in their close relations to maintain the intimacy that apparently characterizes such close connections. Perhaps the use of e-mails among people sharing close connections would have impeded on the relationship, in that the technological constraints of the medium such as its asynchronous nature, the lack of audio cues and prerequisite presence of the receiver in front of a screen would have placed difficulty in the maintenance of immediacy that is found in oral or telephone communication (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2004:3, Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou, 2008: 469).

Therefore, social relationships appear to be associated with the use of specific types of media choices; close connections are associated with more direct forms of communication such as telephone and texting. Similarly, Thurlow's article on text messaging revealed that friendship maintenance (23%) was the the most prevailing functional orientation of the text messages collected (Thurlow, 2003). On the other hand, geographically and socially distant relationships are associated with asynchronous forms of communication such as Facebook and e-mails. Undeniably, the affordances of mediated communication (i.e. Skype, Facebook chat, MSN and e-mails) grant the members more control over loss of contact with friends located in diverse locations. However, constraints such as physical co-presence, which requires some sort of coordination, and asynchronicity of mediated communication appear to define relations characterized by social and geographical proximity. Individuals possess resources, both actual and potential, that they choose to utilize in particular ways in dealing with particular situations and individuals (Douglas, 1993:51). In the same way, Licoppe and Smoreda (2005:322) suggest that "the choice of one medium rather than another has a social sense: the decision to use a particular way of announcing the event is a way of reaffirming and reshaping closeness and distance in the personal network." Surely, some employ the use of mediational means such as telephone, texting and Facebook more than others, depending on how at ease they feel

with each communication media as well as on the degree of social intimacy shared among the members involved.

Extract 5.14

Question: What communication modes do you mainly use when you communicate with people with whom you have close connections and what modes of communication with people you are not closely linked?

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

1. Στενές επαφές τηλεφώνημα ή μήνυμα για να βρεθούμε. [...] τα άτομα που εν
 2. έχουμε τόση άμεση επαφή μπορεί να στείλω μήνυμα, ε εν θα πιάσω να δω
 3. να που κάμνει ας πούμεν ή να πιάμεν να κουβεντιάσουμε για να εν να εν
 4. τσιέινη συζήτηση πως πάεις πως πάν τα μαθήματα ξέρω 'γω μπορεί να
 5. στείλω ένα μήνυμα έτσι για να βρεθούμε γενικότερα για έναν καφέ..to catch
 6. up [...] 'Η Facebook κάτι, e-mail ας πούμεν
-
1. [= For close contacts it would be telephone or text to meet up [...] with
 2. people I am not closely related I might send a text, I won't call to see how
 3. they are or start a discussion for- it would be that kind of conversation when
 - you
 4. ask someone how classes are and I might send a text to meet for a
 5. coffee..to catch up [...] Or Facebook or something, e-mail for example]

(Dataset B, 03/03/09, Interview B)

Extract 5.15

Question: What communication modes do you mainly use when you communicate with people with whom you have close connections and what modes of communication with people you are not closely linked?

Participant: RES5: Julius, 21 year old male, Society member

1. Στενή φιλία πάντα το τηλέφωνο γιατί εν καλά να μιλάς με τον άλλο να
 2. επικοινωνείς μαζί του, να τον ακούεις τσαι να σε ακούει ας πούμε. Ε με τα
 3. άλλα άτομα αν τύχει στο τηλέφωνο ή μηνύματα τις περισσότερες φορές,
 4. μπορεί και e-mail, στο Facebook ας πούμεν μπορώ να τους – αν τους βρώ
 5. online εν να τους μιλήσω online αν δεν τους 'έβρω εν να τους στείλω ένα e
 6. mail που εν να μπουν εν να το δούν, εν να επικοινωνήσουμε με κάποιον
 7. τρόπο.
-
1. [= Close friendship it's always the telephone because it's good talking to
 2. people, communicate with them, to hear each other. E with other people
 3. if it happens it might be telephone or texts most of the times, it might
 4. be e-mail, or Facebook for example I might – if they are online I will
 5. talk to them online, if not I will send an e-mail (Facebook message) for
 6. them to see when they go online, we will communicate somehow.]

(Dataset B, 01/05/09, Interview D)

As it appears here, the closer the relation, the more important it will be to communicate something rapidly and to obtain a reply, usually by means of phone

calls, text messaging or face-to-face interactions. What determines choice of medium among the members is the type of the relationship they have with the individual they want to communicate with. Therefore, any particular choice of a communicative mode is implemented by individuals to mediate the particular types of social negotiation in which the participants find themselves. (Tsiplakou, 2009:380). This was even more explicitly reflected when the participants were asked about the types of people they were more likely to communicate via Facebook; their responses related to familiarity, proximity and strength of the bond.¹⁶

Extract 5.16

Question: With whom are you more likely to communicate via Facebook?

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

1. Α με τους ανθρώπους που μπορεί να μεν βλέπω τόσο πολλά συχνά ή που
2. έσκει καιρό να δώ, που εν φίλοι μου αλλά έσκει καιρό να δώ. Εεεεμ...εε
3. τούτα έτσι άτομα τα οποία μπορεί να μεν εν άμεσα συνδεδεμένοι μαζί μου
4. ήη ή να εν όπως το NAME, το NAME ή την NAME που εν να μιλούμε μέρα
5. παρά μέρα ή κάθε μέρα ας πούμε ή..

1. [= With people I might not see very often or people that are my
2. friends but it has been a while since I last saw them. Eem...yeah it is
3. people with whom I am not closely connected to or be like NAME,
4. NAME or like NAME with whom we talk every other day, or every
5. day or..]

(Dataset B, 03/03/09, Interview B)

Extract 5.17

Question: With whom are you more likely to communicate via Facebook?

Participant: RES8: Chrissie, 20 year old female, Society's 2009-2010 Fresher's Director

1. Με κάποιον που εν έχω τόσο πολλή τόσο στενή σχέση νομίζω, δηλαδή αν
2. έχω πιο στενή σχέση με κάποιον εν να τον πιάσω τηλέφωνο παρά να
3. επικοινωνήσω μέσω Facebook.

1. [= With someone I am not very closely linked with I think; that is, if I am closely linked with someone I will call them rather than communicate via Facebook]

(Dataset B, 19/05/09, Interview H)

Based on the participants' answers in the interviews, it seems legitimate to say that "in a given situation, using a particularly mediated form of interaction rather than

¹⁶ The question that triggered the participants' answer was: 'With whom are you more likely to communicate via Facebook?'

another (e.g., sending an e-mail rather than calling a person) is extremely meaningful in that the choice of a particular technology rather than another contributes to actors' inner experience of the strength of the bond" (Licoppe and Smoreda, 2005:320). More specifically, when members do not share social proximity - term social proximity used to describe affiliative social behaviour and emotional closeness - with particular individuals they tend to associate the use of particular media such as Facebook and e-mails with socially distant relationships (extracts 5.16 and 5.17), on the basis that such communication media are rather 'distant' due to their asynchronicity and lack of immediacy. In other words, acts of communication such as e-mails, texting, Facebook and telephone go beyond serving the specific acts of interaction - those be catching up, providing information or engaging in discussions - but rather define the interaction between the members through the association of particular types of relationships with a particular media mix. A case in point is members' use of Facebook which was shown to be determined by the members' types of social relationships offline.

5.4 Facebook Communication: the effect of low transactional content in intimate and distant relationships

As previously mentioned (Section 5.3), participant relationships shape communication in different media. Relating this issue to the Facebook data, it was found that:

- a) In cases when members do not belong in the same close-knit groups they do not really have extensive interaction with each other – interaction limited to a maximum of 6 posts throughout the course of the two years of data collection – and
- b) When members are very closely related they do not tend to use Facebook communication as a main/basic mode of interaction, except in cases when teasing each other or commenting on status updates.

5.4.1 Low transactional content in Facebook interactions among members in socially distant relationships

With regards to the first point made above, it was noted in the Facebook data that participants referred to Facebook communication as a means which they employ in communicating with people they do not have close contact with. However, interactional exchanges among members in socially distant relationships are infrequent (Thread 1) and are mostly limited to birthday and name-day wishes (Thread 2, 3 and 4). The data below are illustrations of such instances.

1) ADRIANNE – JOHN	
(Dataset D, Facebook threads throughout 2007-2010. Table includes Thread F and Thread H)	
<p>1. Adrianne (HEI London) wrote at 16:13 on 03 May 2008 xronia sou polla john mou kai oti epithymeis :) kales epitixies se oti kaneis! xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx</p> <p>2. John (HEI London) wrote at 18:23 on 17 February 2009 mpravo sou.. VELTIONESE!!! good for you..</p> <p>3. Adrianne (HEI London) wrote at 18:38 on 17 February 2009 en na peripe3eis!</p> <p>4. John (HEI London) wrote at 00:44 on 18 February 2009 en peripezo.. apla paradexoume tin veltiosi sou.. WELL DONE!! kai eisa anoteri!!! :P</p> <p>5. Adrianne (HEI London) wrote at 01:31 on 18 February 2009 ma ti veltiysi?? en katalavw!!! an mashese na eisai sarkastikos gia to status mou pareta en s perna :P</p> <p>6. Adrianne (HEI London) wrote at 01:13 on 24th March 2009 RE GARE</p>	<p>1. Adrianne (HEI London) wrote at 16:13 on 03 May 2008 <i>[= happy birthday john and get whatever you wish :) all the success in what you do!]</i> XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>2. John (HEI London) wrote at 18:23 on 17 February 2009 <i>[= mpravo.. YOU ARE IMPROVING!!! good for you..]</i></p> <p>3. Adrianne (HEI London) wrote at 18:38 on 17 February 2009 <i>[= are you the sort to make a joke?]</i></p> <p>4. John (HEI London) wrote at 00:44 on 18 February 2009 <i>[=am not joking.. I just admitted that you have improved.. WELL DONE!! and many more to come!!! :P]</i></p> <p>5. Andrianne (HEI London) wrote at 01:31 on 18 February 2009 <i>[= what improvement?? I don't get it!!! If you are trying to be sarcastic with regards to my status let it go it's not your thing :P]</i></p> <p>6. Andrianne (HEI London) wrote at 01:13 on 24th March 2009 <i>[= YOU ARSEHOLE]</i></p>
2) ELIZA – MICHAEL	
<p>1. Eliza October 2, 2007 at 9:01pm michael mou xronia polla ke oti potheis!!!! :)</p> <p>2. Michael October 2, 2007 at 9:17pm thank you :)</p> <p>3. Eliza December 6, 2007 at 10:32am happy nameday re! :)</p> <p>4. Michael December 6, 2007 at 2:33pm Hehe thanku eipsis :)</p>	<p>1. Eliza October 2, 2007 at 9:01pm <i>[= michael happy birthday, have the best of my wishes!!!! :)]</i></p> <p>2. Michael October 2, 2007 at 9:17pm thank you :)</p> <p>3. Eliza December 6, 2007 at 10:32am <i>[=happy nameday! :)]</i></p> <p>4. Michael December 6, 2007 at 2:33pm <i>[=Hehe thank you you too :)]</i></p>

Table 10a
Facebook Wall threads among participants NOT forming close-knit groups

To begin with, the posts shared among participants above form the full thread discussions among these participants. The first thread (Thread 1, Adrienne –John) can be divided into 3 parts: May 2008, February 2009 and March 2009. Adrienne and John met during their first year in London in 2007-2008. Despite their contact due to their membership in the Society's Committee in 2008-2009 and 2009-2010, the two were not part of the same close-knit group. The interactions documented here are the only instances of Facebook communication throughout the two years of knowing each other. Looking at the frequency of posts one can see that these are far apart time wise. The time lag between the messages in the thread indicates that the two do not use Facebook to maintain whatever links they share. More precisely, the first message (post 1) involves birthday wishes while the next four posts (posts 2-5) are triggered by John's comment on Adrienne's status update during that time. In the final post (post 6), Adrienne swears at John (assumingly in a teasing manner since the two were not documented to have had an argument). Participant observation in Society Events indicated that John and Andrienne's interactions mainly revolved around teasing each other.

Similarly, in the second thread presented (Thread 2, Eliza- Michael) the members' communication presents a number of exchanges regarding name-day wishes and birthday wishes. Eliza and Michael also met during 2007-2008, but did not belong to the same close-knit group. Eliza and Michael's interaction in Facebook is limited to the exchange of wishes. The posts appear on the days of birthdays and name-days, namely October 2007 and December 2007, as well as December 2008. It can be assumed that happenings such as birthdays and name-days are the only factors triggering communication among the two.

In a similar manner, communication is triggered by birthday wishes in the communication between Adrienne and Chrissie and Chrissie and Thanos as seen in table 10b below. In these last two threads between Adrienne and Chrissie, and Thanos and Chrissie, the only post appearing is again a birthday wish by Adrienne to Chrissie (Thread 3) and by Thanos to Chrissie (Thread 4) which however do not receive a personal reply.

3) ADRIANNE – CHRISSIE	(Dataset D, Facebook threads throughout 2007-2010. Table includes Thread I and Thread J)
1. Andrianne , October 30 th 2009 at 12:07pm Happy Birthday chrissie mou!! oti epithymeis xxxxxxxxxxxx :)	1. Adrianne , October 30 th 2009 at 12:07pm [= <i>Happy Birthday my chrissie!! Whatever you desire you may have xxxxxxxxxxxx :)]</i>
4) CHRISSIE – THANOS	
1. Thanos , October 30 th 2009 at 4:37pm na ziseis chrysia mu, xronia su polla k eftyxismena :) xx	1. Thanos , October 30 th 2009 at 4:37pm [= Happy nameday my chrissie, have many happy years:) xx]

Table 10b
Facebook Wall threads among participants NOT forming close-knit groups

My reference to personal reply is related to the fact that there is a tendency in Facebook to express ‘thank you’ replies by posting such in their status. The number of friends one has and the amount of posts regarding ‘wishes’ are considered to be the causes of such tendency. Thanking each one of their friends takes a serious amount of time and therefore the frequent appearance of ‘thank you’ as a heading (status) in Facebook profiles (see Appendix E7 for an example of such case).

The threads above can be said to reflect a general pattern of contact among the participants, in that interaction in Facebook among people not forming close-knit groups, is infrequent and is in various cases triggered by happenings such as birthdays and name-days. The issue of infrequent contact among such individuals is further supported in the table 11 in the following page in which interactions of each focal participant, with other focal participants not identified as close friends, are documented.

In the case of Gerorgiana, Julius, Chrissie and Jennie no thread has been found in their Facebook Wall involving communication with non-close friends (participants). In the case of Eliza, Adrianne, Alexandros and Thanos, only two threads with non-close friends have been found in each of their profiles. Last, John’s profile brought out four threads with non-close friends (participants), while in Michael’s Facebook wall only one thread was documented.

Focal Participants	Participants NOT named as close friends	Interactions Documented in Facebook from 2007-2010	Participants NOT named as close friends	Interactions NOT Documented in Facebook from 2007-2010
Eliza	Thanos Michael	✓ ✓	Jennie Julius Georgiana	X x x
Alexandros	Adrianne John	✓ ✓	Jennie Julius Georgiana Thanos Michael Chrissie	X x x x x x
John	Alexandros Adrianne Georgiana Thanos	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	Eliza Julius Michael Jennie	X x x x
Thanos	Chrissie Adrianne	✓ ✓	Jennie Julius John Georgiana Alexandros Eliza	X x x x x x
Adrianne	Chrissie John	✓ ✓	Jennie Julius Georgiana	X x x
Michael	Eliza	✓	Chrissie Jennie John Julius Georgiana Adrianne	X x x x x x
Chrissie			Julius Georgiana Jennie Alexandros Adrianne	X x x x x
Jennie			Georgiana Eliza John Thanos Adrianne	X x x x x
Julius			Thanos Chrissie Georgiana Adrianne Eliza	X x x x x
Georgiana			Julius Jennie Alexandros Eliza Chrissie Adrianne Thanos Michael	X x x x x x x x

Table 11
Documented Facebook Interactions among NON-close-knit groups

The lack of interactions among non-close knit members presented in Table 11 above as well as the minimal message posting in the threads in Table 10a and 10b, indicate that weak ties characterizing members' relations with non-close friends, are associated with low transactional content (limited post exchanges) (Bergs, 2006:2-3) in their online communication. The fact that participants expressed no close associations with a number of other focal participants, as well as the infrequent and limited message exchanges with these people online, points to the fact that offline ties act as latent for the participants' Facebook communication: despite the fact that these people have offline contact (Society events) not recognizing someone as a close friend has an effect in their online communication. As it is unlikely to have increased communication offline (either in FtF or other means), in the same way it is unlikely to have increased communication online.

5.4.2 Low transactional content in Facebook interactions of close-knit group members

Facebook communication has also been found to be infrequent as a primary means of communication when it came to close-knit group members. Members appeared to not use Facebook as a primary means of communication. As can be seen in Table 2 in Appendix E6, the frequency of communication (number of interactions documented) is rather restricted to half of the people the participants named as friends. For example Alexandros, Jennie and Eliza appear to have interactions with only half the people they named as close friends (e.g. Alexandros only uses Facebook communication with only 1 of the 3 people he named as friends), while two of the participants (Chrissie and John) appear to have no documented interactions with their close friends.

In cases where the number of threads is not equivalent to the number of friends named might indicate the fact that Facebook is not employed as a primary means of communication. In order to exemplify I will refer to the two following threads.

Extract 5.18

Description: Post exchanges in Facebook

Participants: Adrianne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 and Eliza, 20 year old female, Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/2009 Treasurer

1. **1. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote at 11:25am on August 28th, 2008**
2. ela andreaki mou!! euxaristw poli poli!! cant believe oti ehases to kinito sou!!

3. ase re se niwthw apolita (ashimo pragma vlepe contacts messages photos ke to
4. special relationship you have me tin actual siskevi) lol!! hehe ate see you soon ;)
5. **2. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote at 12:47pm on August 28th, 2008**
6. thanx pou me simponeis eliza mou kai thanx pou mou ethymises posa pramata
7. exasa pou to specific kinito! grrr :P ate c u soon xxx
8. **3.Eliza (HEI University London) wrote at 8:23pm on November 21st, 2008**
9. hahahahahahaaha EN
10. ESHEIS LATHOUIIIIIII :))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))
11. (xerw argw na anapsw wres wres alla better late than never ;))
12. **4. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote at 8:58pm on November 21st, 2008**
13. em ok. EPELLANES ! eteliwse exasame see! y vriskeis toso amusing tin varemara
14. mou mana mou???
15. **5. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote at 9:00pm on November 21st, 2008**
16. pian varemara sou kale?!?! pienne messages!
17. **6. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote at 01:25 on 06 December 2008**
18. Happy Nameday :) na ziseissss eliza mou !!!!
19. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
20. **7. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote at 11:09 on 08 December 2008**
21. aaa i know :P e sorry i couldnt resist!

(Dataset D, Facebook thread C. Interaction between Eliza and Adrianne throughout 2008-2010)

Extract 5.19

Description: Post exchanges in Facebook

Participants: Michael, 22 year old male, Society's 2008/2009 Sports Officer and 2009/2010 Vice President and Thanos, 22 year old male, Society's 2009-2010 Web Officer

1. **1. Thanos, 2 October 2007 at 17:10**
2. na ziseis file mu :) 3erw to, eipa su already alla eto je pas to wall su na pairnei a3ia :p
3. **2. Michael, October 2, 2007 at 9:18pm**
4. thank you :) tora epiaen kamposin a3ia men foase :P
5. **3. Thanos, October 3, 2007 at 1:02pm**
6. ela re file, ti ginetai?:p ime me ti phaedra se lecture twra k katalavaineis.. Ws k to wall su
7. en pio endiaferon pu to legal reasoning! :)
8. **4. Thanos, June 12, 2009 at 4:30pm**
9. kalo ta3idi re!
10. **5. Thanos, 28 November 2009 at 00:19**
11. Re file exw kati na su dei3w, kati pu se afora!
12. <http://elfyourself.jibjab.com/view/8CzD9IfGMQHGnTWUGuVn>

1. **1. Thanos, 02 October 2007 at 17:10**
2. [= happy birthday mate :) I know, I told you already but here it is on your wall, it makes
3. it priceless:p]
4. **2. Michael, October 2, 2007 at 9:18pm**
5. [= thank you :) now it is priceless don't worry :P]
6. **3. Thanos, October 3, 2007 at 1:02pm**
7. [= hey mate how is it going?:p I am with Phaedra at a lecture now, you understand..
8. Even your wall is more interesting than legal reasoning! :)]
9. **4. Thanos, June 12, 2009 at 4:30pm**
10. [= have a nice trip!]
11. **5. Thanos, 28 November 2009 at 00:19**
12. [= Mate I have something to show you, something that would interest you!]
13. <http://elfyourself.jibjab.com/view/8CzD9IfGMQHGnTWUGuVn>

(Dataset D, Facebook thread G. Interaction between Thanos and Michael throughout 2007-2009)

The first thread in extract 5.18 Adrienne-Elizais part of a lengthy thread between the two friends dating from 2008 to 2010 (See Appendix E3 for the whole thread). According to posting frequency the whole thread can be divided into 17 smaller threads. Taken together, the sub-threads constitute the overall interaction of the two participants, which can be characterized by a consistency of posting every month. Noticeably, both the quantity and quality of interaction as a characteristic of the formation of strong ties among members (See extracts 5.10, 5.14, 5.15, 5.16) appears to be reflected in this thread. As previously mentioned (See Section 4.4), in-jokes, teasing and hidden meanings characterize interactions between the two girls; such devices to strengthen the bond between them.

The employment of such devices somehow presupposes close contact besides Facebook communication, since close contact requires intensity of interactions that

cannot be merely placed on monthly posts in an online asynchronous environment. The thread in extract 5.18 between Adrianne and Eliza generally appears to be a complementary form of communication for the two members; their interaction acts as a follow up to previous offline and online interaction or even as a pre-condition for other mediated or offline interactions. This is evident in posts 3 and 5. In post 3 Eliza laughs at something which as she states took her a while to understand. In post 5 Eliza explicitly directs Adrianne to 'Facebook Inbox messages' where she will probably find Eliza's message and which possibly is the source of her laughter. Facebook interactions are not limited to posting on the Facebook Wall, but also involve posts in the 'Inbox' section in Facebook. This means that not only do members engage in interaction by moving along a trajectory of yet an additional level of communication - that being a shift from using the Wall for public visible messages to private messages - but also they seem to boost their communication and links by choosing an 'us Vs them' through their choice of private communication. A number of issues can be publicly shared but more private issues are limited between the two friends. Additionally, even though posts 6 and 7 are relatively close in terms of sequential proximity the two posts do not make sense, if one does not have full view of what communication exchange took place before the postings. As Herring has claimed, a frequent phenomenon in CMC communication is the breach of sequential coherence (1999: 6) which can be a result of initiations receiving no response from the recipient. It is worth mentioning that, despite the fact that posts 6 and 7 are sequentially adjacent, in reality they are not topically-unified posts. Post 6 deals with a wish and post 7 deals with an acknowledgement and apology. In an interesting manner, the disjointed content of post 7 in relation to the content of post 6 reflects that intermediate communication took place between the two posts. Eliza's comment 'aaa I know :P!' suggests that this is a reply indicating agreement or acknowledgement to something Adrianne has communicated to Eliza. Eliza's further comment 'e sorry I couldn't resist' points towards the realization that Eliza's apology might be referring to an even earlier communication, as recognition of a situation, followed by an apology could be a result of: initiating act (presumably Eliza) + response (Adrianne) = recognition and apology (Eliza), reflecting in essence the 'sequential organization' of their interaction (cf. Schegloff, 2007:2, Liddicoat, 2007). Any such intermediate communication could have taken place either through the Inbox section in Facebook, texting or telephone communication. Unfortunately, no information is available about the means in which

communication took place, but the important issue here is the fact that the choice of Facebook Wall is combined with other means of communication within a chain of such social actions as well as within a hierarchy of appropriated tools for the maintenance of social links among close-knit group members (c.f Georgakopoulou, 2004:4,32).

Contrary to Eliza and Adrienne's thread, in extract 5.19 in the thread between Thanos and Michael, one could assume that the two participants do not seem to have any close contact, due to the small number of posts. On the contrary, the two participants have identified each other as people with whom they have close connections with (see Sociogram, Section 5.1). In spite of identifying each other as a close friend, Facebook communication between Thanos and Michael is very limited. According to posting frequency the thread can be divided into 3 smaller threads:

1. 2nd – 3rd October 2007
2. 12th June 2009
3. 28th November 2009

The topics related to their posts revolve around a birthday wish, an update, a wish regarding a trip and finally the sharing of information. Since three messages were posted in 2007 and the last two messages were posted in 2009 the communication of the two via Facebook is downgraded to a mere exchange of wishes and sharing of information. Interestingly, however, post 1 indicates that Facebook is not only downgraded as a primary means of communication, but is also employed as an additional layer of communication. In detail, in Thanos post 'na ziseis file mu :) 3erw to, eipa su already alla eto je pas to wall su na pairnei a3ia :p', there is explicit reference that birthday wishes have been expressed through the choice of some other communication which was prioritized. Thanos in this instance recognizes Facebook as an additional medium of communication in Michael's repertoire of resources and therefore chooses to engage in such communication rather knowingly despite the fact that he has already expressed his wishes. Similarly, in post 4, Thanos wishes Michael 'kalo ta3idi re!'. In post 3 Thanos, sends a message to Michael to let him know that he is in a lecture with a friend. However, it appears that the actual posting of the message and Thanos' pre-occupation with Michael's Facebook page at that time is justified by the fact that Thanos is bored. In a sense, Thanos posting in Michael's Facebook Wall is the result of his use of Facebook as a source of entertainment and serves no other communicative functions from the articulation of Thanos' boredom. Both the fact that their thread illustrates low transactional content and that the two

members lived together and therefore face-to-face contact was characteristic of their relationship, the use of Facebook appears not to play a role in the maintenance of their bonds.

Bearing in mind the analysis of the above threads, it was interesting to see that each one of the threads bring out different aspects of member relationships. It appeared that when it came to communication among close friends, Facebook was not employed as the primary means of communication due to the infrequent as well as limited posts in the Wall, but was rather used to supplement other forms of communication that the members privilege in maintaining the strong ties characterizing their close social relations. Additionally, when it came to member communication with non-close friends, the interactions documented were low in transactional content and were limited to the exchange of wishes without any evidence in terms of contact or cross reference to other types of communication. In other words, social relations are a defining factor for the choices of such mediums of communication. Mediated communication in social networks such as Facebook can be carriers of social structures and histories in as much as they manifest certain patterns of affordances concerning the actions that can be taken through their use (Jones and Norris, 2005:50). The analysis showed that Facebook is a communication mode within the members' repertoire appropriated for social contact; a means that is either used to enhance already existing communication and bonds among close-knit group members or used to maintain an open channel of communication with non-close friends, through acts of wishing.

5.5 Society related business shaping communication patterns

As previously mentioned, choices of communication media depend on the circumstances in which participants find themselves (Tsiplakou, 2009:380); particular relations shape the use of different communication choices depending on what it is to be negotiated. Choices of communication medium are not only shaped by members' social relations but are also related to members' engagement with the Society. It was noted in the diaries that a lot of communication among Committee members is done through the use of e-mails as well as texts and phone calls. The order and frequency of each one of the mediums employed in Society-related communication is shown in the table below.

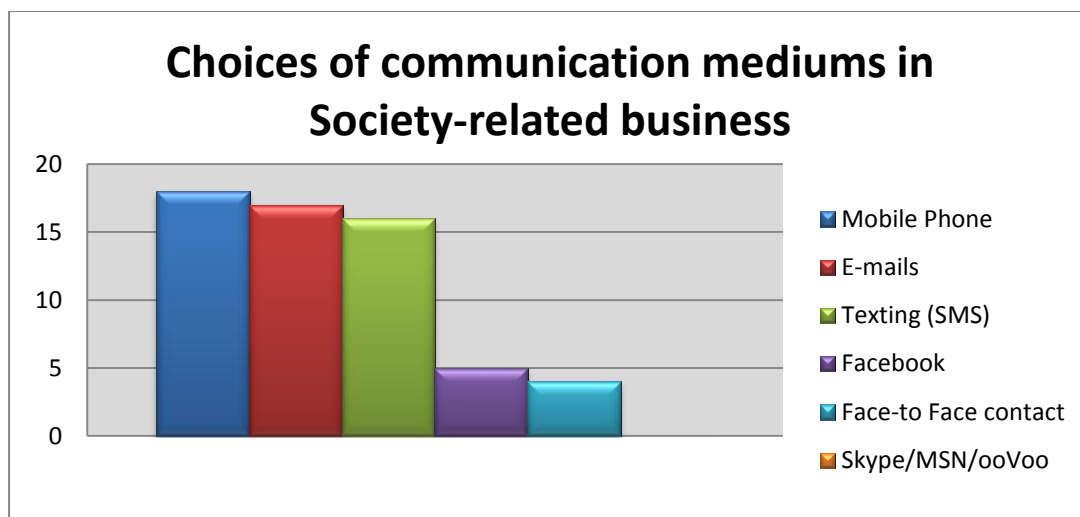


Figure 17
Choices of communication mediums in Society-related business: order and frequency.

Five out of ten of the focal participants who are members of the Society's Committee chose more direct forms of communication such as text messaging and telephone communication when it came to Society business. Indicative of this are the following extracts:

Extract 5.20

Participant: RES2: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010 Vice President

Diary entry:

.LOG

19:55 13/10/2009

1. milisa tin nixta me ton alexandro kai tin chrissie to vradi sto tilefwno gia to
2. musical.

1. [= I talked on the phone with Alexandros and Chrissie in the
2. evening about the musical]

(Dataset E, 13th October 2009, Diary D)

Extract 5.21

Participant: RES10: Michael, 22 year old male, Society's 2008/2009 Sports Officer and 2009/2010 Vice-President

.LOG

19:00 14/10/09

1. Text msgs: {...} To alexandros for dinner reservations and ticket selling

(Dataset E, 14th October 2009, Diary G)

Extract 5.22

Participant: RES4: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/2009 Fresher's Director, 2009/2010
Events/sports Officer

Diary entry:

.LOG

21:00 10/15/2009

1. Talked with Alexandros to discuss Imperial's event and its promotion amongst
2. our members.

(Dataset E, 15th October 2009, Diary B)

This very fact of Committee members using text messaging and telephone communication for rapid replies can be justified by the fact that they need to co-ordinate and make decisions regarding issues that need to be promptly dealt with. More precisely, in extract 5.20 the entry revolved around the arrangement of a musical. Having in mind that the musical was arranged for the 3rd of November 2009, the members had to move fast in order to decide what musical to go to, collect price quotes and then sell the tickets. In extract 5.21, which documents the October 14th, Michael chose SMS communication to update the Chair about selling the tickets and arranging the dinner which was taking place 2 days later (16th October 2009). Last, in extract 5.22, John employs the use of telephone communication to discuss about another Society's party which was bound to take place 5 days after the call (20th October 2009); telephone communication was employed since the discussion could be an apparent issue of urgency since it was suggested that the Society would be part of the event¹⁷. In cases when the arrangement and monitoring of events is close to the set date of their occurrence, members employ telephone communication and SMS as the medium that allows them to quickly communicate and coordinate.

An interesting point however is that even though e-mail use does not appear to be a preferable communication mode when it involves participants' social and friendly relations (as supported by the participants, see extracts 5.14, 5.15, 5.16), according to the diary documentation e-mails appear to be the second most frequently employed medium when it comes to committee member communication.

¹⁷ See Appendix G1 for FtF recording during which the suggestion of the Society entering the event as a co-organizer was first raised during this discussion.

Extract 5.23

Participant: RES3: Thanos, 22 year old male, Society's 2009-2010 Web Officer

Diary entry:

.LOG 18 Oct 2009

1. At 21:00, I received an email from Alexandros about the announcement
2. for our trip to Amsterdam. I returned home at around 22:00 and started
3. talking on Skype with Adrianne. Sometime after 22:00, I received an
4. email from John SURNAME (addressed to the whole committee)
5. containing his suggestions on the content of the society's trip
6. announcement, in reply to Alexandros' e-mail.

19 Oct 2009

7. I sent an email to Alexandros in reply to his previous day's email, to let
8. him know of my recommendations and corrections regarding the trip's
9. announcement.

(Dataset E, 18th -19th October 2009, Diary H)

Extract 5.24

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010 Chair

Diary entry:

.LOG 21:49 13/10/2009

1. I spoke to Adrianne over the phone regarding arranging a musical for
2. November! She told me a few options and we decided on sending an
3. email to the committee so that they could give us feedback before
4. proceeding to sending out an email to members and booking tickets!

(Dataset E, 13th October 2009, Diary A)

Extract 5.25

Participant: RES2: Adrianne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008-2009 PR and Events Officer, 2009-2010

Diary entry:

.LOG 19:55 13/10/2009

1. esteile m i xrisia email tonight gia na apofasisoume se poio musical na
2. kleisoume na paei to society.
3. milisa tin nixta me ton alexandro kai tin chrissie to vradi sto tilefwno gia
4. to musical.

.LOG 19:55 13/10/2009

1. [= Chissie e-mailed me tonight to decide about which musical we should
2. book for the Society nmembers to go.
3. In the evening, I talked with alexandros and chrissie on the phone
4. about the musical

(Dataset E, 13th and 17th October 2009, Diary D)

Within the above diary extracts, it is shown that issues involving the organization and planning of events (e.g. musical arrangements (extracts 5.24 and 5.25) and annual trip (extract 5.23) are communicated and decided upon through face-to-face contact (when it occurs in the Society's meetings), telephone communication and mainly through e-mails. Bearing in mind that the Society's Committee meets on an average of 2-3 times per semester to discuss, plan and organize events and gatherings, it goes without saying that the co-ordination of the meetings' decisions is carried out through other modes of communication besides face-to-face contact. As it appears, these are telephone communication and e-mails. Telephone communication is employed as a means of co-ordination between people who are assigned a task to carry out. More precisely, Chrissie and Adrienne took up the task of organizing a visit to a musical for the members of the Society. The two girls used telephone communication to inform and discuss with the Chair (Alexandros) the information they have gathered (extract 5.24 and 5.25). It can be said that telephone communication in these cases is seen as informal conversation, as e-mail exchange seems to be the mode that members employ to reach to a final decision (extracts 5.23 and 5.24).

The Society is not leader centred and what characterizes it as a community of practice is mutual engagement in a jointly negotiated enterprise (See Section 4.1). In this fashion, the purpose of e-mail exchange is to negotiate an issue of importance in order to work together towards satisfying the goal. For example, in extract 5.24 Alexandros log ('we decided on sending an email to the committee so that they could give us feedback') makes reference to a telephone communication with one of the Committee members responsible for the musical and their decision to circulate an email to Committee members. It becomes evident here, that despite the fact that Alexandros is the Chair and Adrienne (Vice-president) is responsible for arranging the musical, they do not act as figures of authority in making decisions, but rather choose to share information and receive feedback from the other members of the Committee. Decision making is therefore not based on individual decisions; it is based on the Committee members' negotiation of actions and their meanings, as any practices that the Society engages in must be mutually negotiated upon to serve the goals of the Society.

Extract 5.23 is an example of the ways in which negotiation of a goal is carried out through e-mail use. Firstly, John circulates an e-mail with suggestions about the Society's trip, which is a reply to a previous e-mail sent by Alexandros. Then,

Thanos sends his recommendations about the trip followed by Adrienne's e-mail with her recommendations. This occurrence shows various members of the committee freely providing their opinion and suggestions about the trip, each in his own time. Since all the members of the Committee get together for Society meetings, it means that at any other points of time it would be difficult to achieve communication with all others at the same time. The extract below is indicative of the necessity for joint negotiation of a specific enterprise.¹⁸

Extract 5.26

Description: Part of a recording of a conversation between two members of a close-knit group, John and Gyula. Meni, and Alexandros who appeared later on were also part of the conversation. All three members in the above extract are members of the Society's committee. The four members were having a discussion about an event organized by another University's Cypriot Society and whether the HEI Society should be involved in the event by jointly organizing it.

Participants: Meni (former committee member), Alexandros (2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 Chair), John (2008/09 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Events/Sports Officer) and Gyula (2009/10 Treasurer).

1. Alexandros: Οἱ πιστεύω εν καλό, απλά είπα σου εν Τρίτη τσαι εμείς
έχουμεν την Παρασκευή dinner,
2. Gyula: Ποιο;
3. Meni: Ναι
4. Gyula: Α ναι
4. Gyula: Oh yeah
5. Alexandros: πότε εν να στείλουμε εμείς e-mail;
6. Gyula: χαχαχα. Έλα ρε.
7. Alexandros: Αλλά κάμνουμεν τους το=
8. John: =Άεισε να του πώ να =
9. Alexandros: =Οἱ οἱ [εν έσκει πρόβλημα, εσύ μάθε]
10. Gyula: [Ε μα εν να οργανωθούν ρεε]
11. Alexandros: τσαι να μιλήσουμε τσαι με τους άλλους, να στείλω ένα e-mail
12. ούλλους πόψε να δούμε εν να που να νομίζετε.

1. Alexandros: *No I think it is good, but as I told you the event is on Tuesday
and we are having our dinner event on Friday*
2. Gyula: *What?*
3. Meni: *Yes*
4. Gyula: *Oh yeah*
5. Alexandros: *when are we sending the e-mail?*
6. Gyula: *ahahaha. Come on.*
7. Alexandros: *But we can do it for them=*
8. John: *= Let me tell him to =*
9. Alexandros: *=No no [there is no problem, just find out]*
10. Gyula: *[but are they going to coordinate]*
11. Alexandros: *and we will talk with the others, I will send an*
12. *e-mail to everyone tonight, and we will see what you guys think.*

¹⁸ For a most transcription of the recording please See Appendix G1

Lines 11 and 12 are very interesting in terms of participation in decision making. In lines 11-12 Alexandros states that an e-mail will be circulated to all Committee members so as to negotiate any decisions about participation in the event. Alexandros' use of the inclusive 'we' in lines 5 and 7 indicates that actions taken, such as circulating an e-mail, which the result of an individual act, are considered to be a collective action. Additionally, while in lines 7-9 Alexandros expresses his thoughts on the matter, he uses the 1st person plural, indicating that actions to be taken will be collective. Similarly, in line 12 he uses the inclusive 'we' in 'να δούμε'. In this case, while Alexandros will be the one circulating the e-mail, the use of 1st person plural indicates that John's suggestion is an issue to be engaged by all the Committee members. Considering that there were only three members of the Committee present and considering the informality of the situation, the decision for such an act cannot be decided without informing other members of the Committee. In order to coordinate actions, and providing everyone with the relevant information, it is decided that e-mails will be circulated to the rest of the members.

Evidence from the diaries and extracts 5.23, 5.24, 5.25 and 5.26 indicate that Committee members employ email communication as one of the main tools through which they negotiate any actions taken in relation to the Society. The question remains however: 'Why are e-mails employed to a greater degree than telephones when it comes to Society business?' It is believed that the following extract, which forms a number of Committee member e-mail exchanges, illuminates the discussion.

Extract 5.27 (E-mail exchanges among Committee members)

Description: The emails are exchanges between Committee members during the 11th and 12th of October 2009. The initial e-mail is triggered by a previous email sent by the Chair on the 6th of October.

Participants: Alexandros (Chair), Thanos (Web Officer), Adrienne (Vice president), Gyula (Treasurer) and Michael (Vice President).

1. From: Thanos

Date: Sun, 11 Oct 2009 22:46:53 +0100

Subject: RE: News Update

loipon pai8kia.. exw na proteinw afto to neo logo gia to society! pete mu ti pistevete!

[= so guys.. I have this logo to suggest for the society! Tell me what you think!]

2. From: Alexandros

Sent: 11 October 2009 22:58

Subject: Re: News Update

Dexoume
[= I accept]

3. From: Gyula

Date: Sun, Oct 11, 2009 10:59 PM,
Ne kanena provlima
[= Yeah no problem]

4. From: Michael

Date: Mon, 12 Oct 2009 00:17:21 +0100
Subject: Re: News Update
to loipon. epd iparxoun kai kopelles na kamoume tjie ena link gia tes kopelles tjie apla varte tin foto pou kamno attach
[= so listen, because there are ladies we should have a link for them and just post the picture that I am attaching]

5. From: Thanos

Subject: RE: News Update
Date: Mon, 12 Oct 2009 01:19:52 +0200
symfwnoi. eperase i apofasi me majority voting: argyris, giannis, savvas, gyula, nikolas yper. enantion oi 2 kopelles je o pelidis ypo8etw pu en emilisan!
[= agreed. The decision had been reached with the majority of votes: thanos, john, alexandros, gyula, michael in favour. Against are the 2 ladies and pelides I guess who have not replied!]

6. From: Adrienne

Subject: RE: News Update
Date: Mon, 12 Oct 2009 10:08:41 +0200
etsi ine.. oti u cant get in real life poskolisteste pou ta 'logos' :)
[= that's how it is...what u can't get in real life, you just kill your time with 'logos' :)]

7. From: Thanos

Date: Mon, Oct 12, 2009 at 9:50 AM
Subject: RE: News Update
e nai etsi einai.. so an epimeineis sto palio logo esy, en akoma pio 8liveri i 8esi su :)
efxaristw
[= e yeah that's how it is.. so if you insist on the old logo, your case is even more sad:]
thanks]

(Dataset A, 11th-12th October 2009, Committee E-mail exchange B)

In extract 5.27, five of the Committee members engage in a discussion about the Society's new logo. Thanos as the Society's Web administrator attaches the new logo he has designed for the Society and initiates a discussion (email 1) by asking the rest of the Committee members to provide their opinions. In email 2, 3 and 4 Alexandros, Gyula and Michael give their approval for the new logo. Three Committee members have not yet replied, but however Thanos' proposal is likely to go forward, as the majority of the Committee members have voted in favour of the new logo (email 5). While Alexandros, as the Chair of the Society, would be expected to announce the

decision to the rest of the Committee members, Thanos as the creator of the logo, has the legitimacy to announce the decision to the other members.

What is of interest here is email 1 and 5. In email 1 Thanos refers to the attachment of a file concerning the new logo and directly asks for the members' opinion. The email here invites opinion expression. Each member's vote is taken into consideration, without any votes counting as more important than others due to status differentials. All the members are given the opportunity to contribute to the decision making, with each member having the equal right to approve (emails 2, 3, 4) or 'disapprove' the suggestion made (email 6). Ho and McLeod (2008:203) suggest that the reduced social cues in computer-mediated communication and possible reduction of status inequalities attenuate the effects of undesirable effects of social-psychological influences on opinion expression and therefore create a forum for conducting public deliberation.

Surely, reduction or mediation of power dynamics cannot be treated as an inherent property of e-mail communication, but should rather be viewed as a potential effect of the utilization of the medium's affordances and constraints (cf. Hutchby, 2001; Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou, 2008). In the case of Committee members, e-mail communication facilitates inclusiveness through the exchange of brief responses, the use of informal language (Cypriot dialect and Greeklish), lack of greetings and closings and IDs in all of the emails; what shapes the members' interactions in the e-mails exchanges is engagement in a common purpose (cf. Crystal, 2001). Despite being the person with the power to design and promote the new logo as the Committee's Web Officer, Thanos chooses to provide the rest of the Committee members with the opportunity to express their opinion and addresses in line 1 the other Committee members as 'guys' (ρε παϊθκιά) despite the fact that some of them are of higher status than him. For example, people of higher status such as Alexandros (Chair), Adrienne (Vice-President) and Michael (Vice-President) are not greeted as such and not acknowledged by name (cf. Waldvogel, 2007:466) which in a sense reduces the issue of power dynamics and enhances equal rights to contribution.

E-mail communication is employed by the Committee members for decision-making by virtue of the technical affordances of the medium. Email as an asynchronous form of communication is mainly characterized by the reviewability and revisability elements it entails. More precisely, members utilize the advantage to on the one hand review what has been exchanged by having a record of each person's

comments, while on the other hand they are able to revise their e-mails by being able to look through their message before sending it. In this case, members are given the opportunity to review the new logo due to its permanence and fixity in their email Inbox and after consideration post their reply. Indeed, as having the ability to review and revise what he will post, Thanos is able to keep track of the number of individuals who have provided their opinion on the logo and work with those replies in order to finalize whether the new logo is accepted by the majority.

“The availability of a persistent textual record of the conversation renders the interaction cognitively manageable” (Herring, 1999:1). In addition to all the above, e-mail exchange can also be said to facilitate communication, since oral speech used in telephone communication and face-to-face communication (not Society meetings) makes it hard for an individual to remember all the information and opinion exchange that each member of the Committee has. Additionally, e-mail as a text based medium facilitates the ‘going back and forward’ through information and suggestions exchanged between the members, even regarding different topics of discussion. Notably, such exchanges are part of a trajectory of interactions, either those be through telephone, personal contact or e-mail, and in this way they establish links to previous and future communication (Georgakopoulou, 2004: 4). The asynchronous character of a mediated mode of communication such as e-mail encourages participants to be explicit in the information they offer, to be more at ease in providing opinions and in encouraging responses since immediate feedback and question-answer interactions are not possible (Paulus and Phipps, 2008:471). Generally speaking, it is safe to say that e-mail communication becomes a typical means of communication, which members employ in their Society related roles, as it facilitates inclusiveness in terms of member participation and permanence in terms of member records of what was to be negotiated and finalized as a course of action.

5.6 Conclusion

The analysis conducted in the present chapter showed that member closeness and in general member relations are important for defining the choice of media and the degrees of communication among the members in different media.

To begin with, it was found that in cases where emotional closeness characterizes members of close knit groups FtF was the privileged mode of communication. In cases when Internet communication was used, and more specifically Facebook, that was found to be a means of supplementing (offline) close relationships, while on the other hand any Facebook communication between members characterized by weak-tie relationships was not found to enhance or strengthen bonds among members. Similarly Ellison et al. found that the use of Facebook intensified relationships characterized by pre-existing offline connections (Ellison et al, 2007:1162). Members' use of CMC, the frequency of interactions and the things members chose to communicate are possible reflections of the nature of relationships offline. It seems no coincidence then that Bergs supports that "some online ties are qualitatively no different from offline ties" (Bergs, 2006:11).

It was found that Society related roles, and more specifically members holding Committee positions, have affected the choice of communication medium. The role of Committee members is to negotiate decisions that have to do with Society practices. It was found that when Society meetings were not taking place, the mode of e-mail communication was the preferable means of communication as the text based nature of e-mails, the persistence of text and its asynchronous nature allowed members to equally participate, negotiate the meanings of actions and express their opinion about Society issues.

Overall, it can be said that: 1) the choice of medium occurs among Society members for interpersonal, private and institutional communication. Firstly, members appear to choose communication mediums from a range of tools available in their resources. Particular medium choices are linked with certain social practices: e.g. E-mails were chosen by members when communication involved institutional business, while FtF interaction, texting, mobile telephone communication, Facebook and MSN with members' social relations. The analysis in this chapter revealed that: 2) Society-membership does not shape all interactions by Society members. Society related roles appeared to define interactions revolving around Society business. In contrast, degrees and types of communication among members were significantly defined by social links among members, either those were weak ties or strong ties.

Overall, key issues identified in this chapter are the network features of the Society and media choices. The employment of SNA and CoP framework (see section 2.4) allowed for the unpacking of the choices of communication mediums and the ways in

which such choices could be related to member relations on the one hand and Society-related businesses on the other (see section 1.1).

The analysis of Committee e-mails and diaries reflected the core of the thesis and on which the investigation is based: the Greek-Cypriot as a community of practice. The Greek-Cypriot student Society is understood as a community of practice because it only exists through the jointly negotiated enterprise. The exchange of e-mails regarding the logo, the telephone and email exchanges prior to e-mail circulation to the members highlight the mutual negotiation of practices, actions and their meanings in the achievement of a shared goal (see section 5.5). Negotiation, especially for committee members involves active involvement in decision-making; their identity is largely affected by the ability to shape meanings that define their belonging in the community (Wenger, 1998, see section 2.4). The Society committee communication analysis brings to the fore the tools and objects that comprise the Society's shared repertoire. Specific tools, and in this case e-mail communication form a shared resource for negotiating meaning. The nature of email provides members with shared points of reference in which they can re-engage as well as with a shared history of negotiated practices.

Having found that the choice of communication mediums occurs among members for interpersonal and institutional communication and that society membership does not always shape all interactions, an interesting step towards the analysis would be an investigation in the following chapter of the kinds of identities that become prominent in interactions and how these could be related to society membership/non-membership identities. In essence this chapter revealed network features and choices and patterns of communication, giving grounds for the following chapter which moves into the issue of member positions in the network and member communication into more depth; establishing choices and society positions provides the corner stone in analysing the ways in which participation is shaped depending on network positioning and the ways in which identity is constructed and articulated in members' communication.

CHAPTER 6

RELATIONS OF MUTUAL ENGAGEMENT: THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEMBERSHIP IDENTITIES THROUGH FORMS OF PARTICIPATION

6. Introduction

The Greek Cypriot student Society forms around issues that are important to its members. As seen in Chapter 4 drawing on common grounds, such as shared cultural, linguistic and social codes the members are able to maintain and reproduce the knowledge or benefits acquired from engagement in practices. The utilization of available resources in the Society's repertoire, enable and facilitate the negotiation and communication of practices.

The aim of this chapter is to see how members construct Society membership identities enabled through mutual engagement and how their relations and positions affect meaning negotiation. In detail, the research questions guiding my analysis are: a) In what ways do relations of mutual engagement influence the construction and negotiation of membership identities? and b) What identities become prominent in members' interactions and how are these related to society related roles and identities? Since members employ a multiplicity of tools to communicate, it was considered necessary to incorporate information coming from a range of data sets, including face-to-face recordings, Facebook Wall threads, interviews and fieldwork notes. FtF recordings and Facebook Wall threads were considered to be vital in the investigation of what it is that people build in their interactions (e.g. student identity, ethnic identity etc.) both in real-time and in mediated environments and of the effect of mutual engagement on the construction of membership identities (See section 3.3.2). Diaries and interviews were also incorporated into the analyses as a complementary data source, in support of the analysis of the relation of mutual engagement with the construction of membership identities.

As previously stated (See section 2.4), the element of mutual engagement describes the process of developing shared ways of doing things, of engaging in actions whose meaning individuals negotiate with one another. A community of practice is developed because members sustain dense relations of mutual engagement organized around what they are there to do (Wenger, 1998:74). Practice therefore

resides in a community, through an orientation towards a joint enterprise and even more so through the development of relations among members. Relations of mutual engagement allow members to act, interact and engage in practices with other members, as connections between members enable the community to fully function. Through relations of mutual engagement members invest in what they do, as well as investing themselves in their relations with other people (Wenger, 1998:192). In this sense, practice and relations of mutual engagement become constitutive of members' experience and sense of the self. Relations developed through engagement in a community's practice become a source of identification with particular roles, positions and identities, in that through this process identity formation becomes possible. The link between relations of engagement and identity formation can be described as follows: a) "Being included in what matters is a requirement for being engaged in a community's practice", b) "engagement in practice is what defines belonging" through participation and reification and c) participative experience and reificative projections (reflections of practices as tokens of meaning) interweave to become layers in identity building (Wenger, 1998:74, 61). 'Participative experience' refers to "the social experience of living in the world in terms of membership in social communities and active involvement in social enterprises" (Wenger, 1998:55) while 'reificative projections' refer to the 'things' or the production of objects in giving form to our experience. The process of reification describes the process in which we create points of focus through naming, describing, categorizing, interpreting and perceiving, and around which we organize our experience and negotiate meanings (see section 2.4, Wenger, 1998:58-59).

For central members of the Society (e.g. Committee members), mutual engagement can be seen as a resource for identity formation, as identification with particular member roles is what drives their participation and engagement in practice. In such cases, the link between relations of mutual engagement and identification with particular roles is rather straightforward. In contrast, non-committee members may acquire different forms of membership, developing certain ways of engaging and certain ways of interacting; they become who they are by "being able to play a part in the relations of engagement that constitute their community" (Wenger, 1998:152) (See Section 2.4 for types of membership/member trajectories).

The CoP perspective highlights the importance of mutual engagement as an enabling factor for community making. "A community of practice is not defined

merely by who knows whom or who talks with whom in a network of interpersonal relations” but is rather defined by people engaging in actions whose importance and meaning they negotiate with one another (Wenger,1998:73-74). Therefore, mutual engagement in the Society’s practices foregrounds the process of meaning negotiation; meanings such as identities being member identity, ethnic identity and student. As follows, the notion of mutual engagement and what that entails, allows for an analysis of the link between relations of mutual engagement with the construction and negotiation of membership identities.

Notwithstanding, within the CoP theoretical framework there is an implicit assumption about homogeneity (Barton and Tusting, 2005:8). The CoP theory takes that the process of negotiation within a community of practice is achieved through the process of participation and reification, however without specifying the ways and varying degrees in which this operation works for the members of the community. The emphasis is placed on meaning negotiation, while a focus on the ways in which resources are employed in allowing members to negotiate the meaning of their shared repertoire and practices, is much less accounted for in the model. Focus on the resources people employ when doing identity work in social interaction, implies a focus on language use as it is the primary means of the communication of meanings, stances, beliefs and identities.

Recognizing that processes such as identity formation and meaning negotiation are inextricably linked with language use, provides the grounds for the investigation of participation in terms of sequences and units of speech which members of a community use as resources, giving expression to particular social roles sustained within communities (Keating, 2005: 109-110). It is true that social interaction describes the situation in which social actors engage in a social activity through the use of linguistic, sequential and gestural resources (Zimmerman, 2006:87). At the same time however, this activity is also tightly articulated with the surrounding world (Zimmerman, 2006:88), which may include larger social structures, practices and meanings. Similarly, Georgakopoulou states, “the participants’ exploitations of conversational (interactional) structures and mechanisms makes visible extra-situational resources”, amongst which knowledge, roles and identities (Georgakopoulou, 2006:85).

Within interaction individuals are able to assign ‘roles’ in the discursive construction of personal identity through social acts (see section 2.4); individuals

signal their own subject positions while at the same time they recognize and ratify the ones signalled by their interlocutors (Ribeiro, 2006; Van Langerhove and Harré, 1999:17). In adopting, assigning and offering subject positions, individuals are at the same time reflecting social power relations, as different positions are associated with rights, duties and obligations within the context that these are placed. Through a focus on members' positionings as enabled through forms of participation highlights power structures and power imbalance.

As follows, the analysis focuses on the ways in which relations of mutual engagement affect the construction of membership identities and the ways in which members locally articulate particular identities in their interpersonal relations. An interactional analytic perspective (See Section 2.2) informed the analysis of e-mails, Facebook threads and FtF recordings which were looked at in terms of status-moves and categorization devices related to specific Society roles and linguistic devices (i.e. imperative language and personal pronoun 'we') related to status positions and membership identities. Section 6.1 in this chapter charts out the process of apprenticeship of two participants – John and Chrissie – who are currently Committee members. Such case illustrates the ways in which membership identities are shaped by members' social experience of traversing through trajectories of available forms of membership. Section 6.2, deals with the ways in which different positionings among Committee members are locally constructed through the use of role categories, person references and the imperative mood. In this way, members manage to display their orientation towards their acting and power as officials of the Society through the employment of the aforementioned linguistic devices. Moving down the pyramid, Section 6.3 deals with ex-Committee members' engagement with Society practices, highlighting issues of legitimacy to speak and issues of belonging and identification with the Society. Finally, Section 6.4 deals with the case of peripheral membership and the ways in which relations of engagement are shaped by the ways in which peripheral members locate themselves in the social landscape.

6.1 Full membership: process of apprenticeship in the case of John and Chrissie

Participation in a jointly negotiated enterprise of a community can be said to be distinct for each one of the members constituting the community. Newcomers,

committee members and old-timers in the Cypriot student Society are more likely to experience participation and engage in practice in rather different ways. Newcomers receive attention and create enough relationships with old-timers to gain access to the community and its practice (Wenger, 1998:100). It is found that existing members and especially committee members do spend energy introducing new members to the practices their Society engages in. Undeniably, the way one steers their trajectories is crucial for their forms of participation in a community and indicative of such transition from a new-comer to a committee member is the case of Chrissie and John (current Committee members). Both members have applied for and obtained positions in the committee after one year's membership.

An important practice that deserves attention here is the way in which members apply for committee positions. Members are informed about the committee elections and the relevant positions that members would be able to file an application for, via the circulation of an e-mail as shown below.

Extract 6.1

Subject: Cypriot Society Elections
 From: HEI Cypriot Society (heicysoc@gmail.com)
 Sent: Monday, March 01, 2010 8:40:26 PM

1. Αγαπητοί Συμφοιτητές και Συμφοιτήτριες,
2. Με το τέλος της θητείας του φετινού συμβουλίου να πλησιάζει, και
3. στο πνεύμα των ημερών, **ανακηρύσσουμε εκλογές για το Συμβούλιο**
4. **που θα υπηρετήσει για το 2010-2011.**
5. [...]
6. Παρακαλούμε όσοι ενδιαφέρονται να αποστείλουν στην πιο κάτω
7. διεύθυνση μια σύντομη παράγραφο 150 λέξεων περίπου, εξηγώντας το
8. ενδιαφέρον τους και περιγράφοντας τους στόχους τους και τι θα ήθελαν
9. να προσφέρουν στον Όμιλο μας μαζί με μια μικρή φωτογραφία μέχρι
10. την **Δευτέρα, 15 Μαρτίου.**
11. heicysoc@gmail.com

1. **Dear Fellow Students,**
2. With the end of this year's Committee's term, and in the electoral spirit of the
3. Past few weeks, we declare **elections for the Committee which is to serve**
4. **during the 2010-2011 term.**
5. [...]
6. For those of you, who are interested, please send a small manifesto of
7. Approximately 150 words explaining your interest in the Society, outlining

8. your targets and how you may contribute together with a passport photograph
9. by **Monday 15th March** to the following address:
10. heicysoc@gmail.com

(Dataset A, 01/03/10, E-mail 126)

It appears that the mode through which applications for committee positions can be filed is e-mail. In lines 9-10 members are urged to send their candidatures in the following address, which is an e-mail address provided in line 11 in the original and line 10 in the translation. Notably, applications are forwarded to existing committee members of the Society and are not made public to the rest of the Society members (See Appendix D3 for the full e-mail and evidence with regards to the latter claim)¹⁹. The choice of sending and receiving the applications via e-mail appears to be shaped by the affordances of the particular medium. In detail, the fact that the Society's e-mail is provided instead of an actual address facilitates the receipt of such forms in that the Society does not hold any spatial position and therefore the lack of an address. The e-mail address given is the Society's e-mail address in which all committee members have access to and in extent all committee members will be able to view the applications. The permanence of text in e-mail communication allows committee members to go back and forward in reviewing all applications before reaching a decision. Finally, applications via e-mail give members greater accessibility since they allow committee members to communicate (e.g. express disapproval for example by copy pasting parts from the applicants' details and candidature in support of their argument) without any FtF meeting being required to discuss the applications.

6.1.1 The case of Chrissie

Chrissie has first registered in the Society in 2008. Since then she has developed relationships with other Society members, gained access to the Society and engaged in its practices. The interview extract below is suggestive of Chrissie's progression in the Society. Chrissie at the time of the interview (May 2009) did not hold any position in the Society's Committee since it was her first year of study.

¹⁹ Note that applications for committee positions are only made public to all the Society members only in cases where applications are filed for the same position. In such instances, general elections occur and all the registered Society members have the right to vote for the individual of their liking. During the data collection, only one such instance occurred in the 2009/2010 elections.

Extract 6.2

Question: ‘Have you got any positions in the Society’s Committee and if yes what are your responsibilities?’

Participant: RES8: Chrissie, 20 year old female, Society’s 2009-2010 Fresher’s Director

1. Εεε φέτος εν έχω αλλά έκαμα applica- έκαμα αίτηση για του χρόνου, εδεχτή
 2. εδεχτήκαν με τσαι είμαι Fresher’s Director και αρχίζω από του χρόνου τον
 3. Σεπτέμβρη. [...] Ε λογικά Fresher’s Director εν να ασχολείται με τους
 4. πρωτοετής που έρχονται, να τους βοηθήσει να εγκλιματιστούν στο περιβάλλον
 5. της Αγγλίας, του Λονδίνου τσαι του πανεπιστημίου, ότι δυσκολία έχουν να τους
 6. βοηθούμε, όπως εκάμαν τσαι τσιείνοι που ήταν φέτος μαζί μου βασικά
-
1. [= Eem this year I don’t but I appl- I applied for next year and they accepted my
 2. application and so now I am a Fresher’s Director and I start from next year
 3. September. [...] Logically, the Fresher’s Director will be dealing with the newcomer
 4. students, helping them adjust in the English environment, in London and in the
 5. university; and help them with whatever difficulty they have, just like they did this year
 6. with me basically when I was a Fresher]

(Dataset B, 19/05/09, Interview H)

Towards the end of her answer Chrissie clarifies that she will be helping new students from Cyprus, just like they helped her when she was a Fresher in the 2008-2009 academic year, indicating the ways in which the Society approaches new members and introduces them to its practice. Chrissie’s progression in the Society is a result of seeking membership in a community that she was accepted; a community where she felt comfortable and satisfied with (Napier and Gershenfield, 1981:81-93). Chrissie is projecting an inbound trajectory, in which as a newcomer joined the Society with the prospect of becoming a full participant in its practice and invested her identity in future participation by means of applying for a committee position. Below is a small extract (See Appendix D4 for the complete version) from Chrissie’s application in running for the position of ‘Freshers’ Director’ in 2009.

Extract 6.3²⁰

Description: Chrissie’s application for the position of Fresher’s Director

Participant: RES8: Chrissie, 20 year old female, Society’s 2009-2010 Fresher’s Director

1. Γειά σας ,
2. Όπως μπορεί να γνωρίζετε ήδη, είμαι πρωτοετής φοιτήτρια (BSC Biomedical
3. Science) και ενδιαφέρομαι για τη θέση ‘Fresher’s Director’ στο συμβούλιο
4. του Κυπριακού Ομίλου του Πανεπιστημίου μας. Ο λόγος που θα ήθελα να
5. αναλάβω αυτή τη θέση είναι για να μπορέσω να βοηθήσω κι εγώ με τον τρόπο
6. μου τους φοιτητές που θα έρθουν τη χρονιά αυτή.

²⁰ The document has only been sent to Committee members and not to all the Society’s members. Documents are circulated to all Society members only in the instance in which there is more than one application for the same position.

1. [= Hello,
2. As you may already know, I am a first year student (BSC Biomedical Science) and I
3. am interested in the position 'Fresher's Director' of the Cypriot Society committee of
4. our university. The reason I would like to take over the position is so that I, in my own
5. way, could also help the students who are coming this year.]

(Dataset A, 20/03/09, Manifesto E-mail E)

Chrissie's attraction to membership and participation become the source of her candidature for the position of Freshers Director, appearing willing to accept the responsibilities of full membership status. A year later (2010), Chrissie re-submits her candidature for the position of External/Public Relations Officer, part of which is presented below (See Appendix D5 for the complete version)

Extract 6.4

Description: Chrissie's application for the position of External/Public Relations Officer
 Participant: RES8: Chrissie, 20 year old female, Society's 2009-2010 Fresher's Director

1. Χαιρετώ το συμβούλιο μας,
2. Φέτος, αφού έχω ήδη ζήσει την εμπειρία του να είσαι μέλος του συμβουλίου
3. του Κυπριακού Ομίλου του Πανεπιστημίου μας ενδιαφέρομαι για τη θέση
4. 'External/Public Relations Officer' . Ο λόγος που θα ήθελα να αναλάβω αυτή
5. τη θέση είναι για να μπορέσω να βοηθήσω κι εγώ με τον τρόπο μου στις
6. διάφορες εκδηλώσεις που θα οργανώσουμε αυτή τη χρονιά.
7. [...]
8. Φιλικά
9. Chrissie

1. [= Greetings to our committee,
2. This year, after experiencing being a member of our university's Cypriot Society
3. I am interested in the position of 'External/Public Relations Officer'. The reason
4. I would like to take on this position is so that I could help in my own way in the
5. different events that we will be organizing this year.
6. [...]
7. Best regards,
8. Chrissie]

(Dataset A, March 2010, Manifesto E-mail F)

At this point of time (2010), Chrissie is considered to be a central member due to her existing position as a Freshers Director in the Committee. Her re-submission for a place in the Committee involves a position with greater responsibilities, beyond helping any Freshers. Chrissie's progression within the Society and more specifically

within the Committee indicates that she is directed towards an insider trajectory which generally reflects members' increased participation.

6.1.2 The case of John

John is a registered member in the Cypriot Society since his first year of studies in 2007. Just like Chrissie, John's application for a position in the Society's Committee occurred eight months after his initial registration in the Society. The extract below is part of his candidature for the position of Fresher's Director for the 2008-2009 academic year (See Appendix D6 for the complete version).

Extract 6.5

Description: John's application for the position of Fresher's Director 2008/09

Participant: RES4: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Events/Sports Officer

1. Γεια σας παιδιά. Θα ήθελα να θέσω υποψηφιότητα για τη θέση του **Fresher's**
2. **Director 2008/09.**
3. Κυριότερος λόγος για την απόφαση μου αυτή, είναι το γεγονός ότι είμαι (ο
4. ίδιος) πρωτοετής. Έχω πρόσφατα βιώσει τη δραματική μεταπήδηση
5. (μετάπτωση) από τη λυκειακή στη φοιτητική ζωή, μοιράζομαι τις ίδιες
6. δυσκολίες, έγνοιες, επιθυμίες και όνειρα με κάθε πρωτοετή και γι' αυτό όντως
7. γνωρίζω από πρώτο χέρι τι πράγματι χρειάζεται ο κάθε πρωτοετής μας. []

1. [= Hi guys. I would like to nominate myself for the position of **Fresher's**
2. **Director 2008/09.**
3. *The most important reason for my decision is the fact that I, myself am a*
4. *freshman. I have recently been through a dramatic jump from high school to*
5. *university life, I share the same difficulties, concerns, desires and dreams as*
6. *any freshman and that's why I know firsthand what a freshman really*
7. *needs[...]*

(Dataset A, March 2008, Manifesto E-mail G)

In his application John establishes his reasons for applying and states that through his contact with the Society he realized that his participation in such expresses him. John directs his energies towards full membership through a shift in performance. As shown in the extract below (Extract 6.6), during the time that John was serving the Society as a Fresher's Director through engagement and performance he was able to display his commitment to the group.

Extract 6.6

Question: 'Have you got any positions in the Society's Committee and if yes what are your responsibilities?'

Participant: RES4: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Events/Sports Officer

1. John: Εε στο committee είμαι υπεύθυνος – είμαι fresher's director εεε που
2. όπως καταλαβαίνεις είμαι υπεύθυνος για τους freshers' αλλά ένα πράμα που
3. ένει στο committee μας βασικά εν τηρούνται κάποιοι ρόλοι
4. Valentina Δηλαδή;
5. John: Από άποψη ότι ούλλοι εν να εν να συμβάλουμε το ίδιο. Λοιπόν άρα
6. ανεξαρτήτως του ότι είμαι εγώ fresher's director, εν να συμβάλω σε κάποια
7. events που εν να κάμουμε, σε κάποιες άλλες εκδηλώσεις, που εν εν
8. απαραίτητα για τους freshers
9. Valentina: Μμμ
10. John: Άρα μπορεί να ασχοληθούν τσiai με άλλους φοιτητές του
11. πανεπιστημίου, όχι- ανεξαρτήτως freshers μπορεί να γυρέψω ας πούμε για
12. ταξίδια όπως κάμουν κάποια άλλα άτομα στο society, ή μπορεί να βοηθήσω
13. για παράδειγμα εε ή να μιλήσω με άλλα πανεπιστήμια για να οργανώσουμε
14. κάτι που μπορεί να μεν εν ακ- η άμεση αρμοδιότητα μου αλλά όλοι
15. συμβάλλουμε όσο μπορούμε τσiai βοηθούμε ο ένας τον άλλο.

1. [= John: In the committee I am responsible for – I am a fresher's director which as
2. you understand is responsible fot the freshers; one thing that characterizes our
3. committee is that we don't stick to roles.
4. Valentina: Meaning?
5. John: In the sense that we will make equal contibutions. So irrespective of the
6. fact that I am the Fresher's director, I will contribute in some events we
7. organize, to some other events that are not necessarily about the Freshers
8. Valentina: Hm
9. John: So they may get involved with other students of the university, not- despite
10. my responsibilities with regards to the freshers I might look for trips for example,
11. like some other society members do, or I might help for example ee or talk with
12. other universities to organize something that is not- that is not in the line of my
13. responsibilities but we all contribute and help each other as much as we can.]

(Dataset B, 01/03/09, Interview A)

By accepting the responsibilities of having a central position in the Committee, John appears to also accept the responsibilities of organization and be more apt to participate readily in the formation of practices (Napier and Gershenfield, 1981:100-101). By solidifying positive working relationships with each other (Wheelan, Davidson and Tilin, 2003:224) Committee members including John manage to develop trust, to commit, be willing to cooperate and negotiate contributions in Society practices. Drawing on that, John has in subsequent years resubmitted his

candidature for Events/Sports Officer (2009-2010) and Chair of the Committee (2010-2011).

Extract 6.7²¹

Description: John's application for the position of Events/Sports Officer 2009/10

Participant: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Events/Sports Officer

1. Γεια σας παιδιά. Θα ήθελα να θέσω υποψηφιότητα για τη θέση του
2. **Events/Sports Officer 2009/10.**
3. Έχοντας τώρα ήδη ένα χρόνο εμπειρίας στον όμιλο σαν Fresher's Director,
4. πιστεύω πως απέκτησα την απαραίτητη πείρα για να αναλάβω μια θέση με
5. κάποιες περισσότερες αρμοδιότητες. Έχοντας λάβει μέρος στις φετινές
6. δραστηριότητες του ομίλου μας και επίσης έχοντας οργανώσει πολλές άλλες
7. δραστηριότητες στα Halls μου, γνωρίζω από πρώτο χέρι αυτά που χρειάζονται
8. οι φοιτητές για να ζήσουν όσο το δυνατό καλύτερα την φοιτητική τους
9. εμπειρία.
10. Ακόμη, κατά τη διάρκεια της δεύτερης μου χρονιάς, έχω έρθει σε ιδιαίτερη
11. επαφή με τους Κυπριακούς ομίλους του Imperial και του UCL, πράγμα που
12. πιστεύω θα με βοηθήσει αρκετά στα καθήκοντά μου.

1. [= Hello guys. I would like to place my nomination for the **Events/Sports Officer**
2. **2009/2010 position.**
3. *Having already been part of the Cypriot Society Committee for a year as the*
4. *Fresher's Director, I believe that I have gained the necessary experience to take on a*
5. *position with more responsibilities. Having taken part in this year's Society activities*
6. *and having organised numerous events at my Residence Halls, I know out of firsthand*
7. *what students may need in order to enjoy student life as much as possible.*
8. *Further, during my second year I have also come in contact with the Cypriot Societies*
9. *of the UCL and Imperial, something that I believe it will assist me to undertake my*
10. *responsibilities.*

(Dataset A, 20/03/09, Manifesto E-mail H)

Extract 6.8²²

Description: John's application for the position of Chair

Participant: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Events/Sports Officer

1. Γεια σας παιδιά. Θα ήθελα να θέσω υποψηφιότητα για τη θέση του **Προέδρου**
2. **2010-2011.**
3. Έχοντας τώρα ήδη δύο χρόνια εμπειρίας στον όμιλο σαν Fresher's Director
4. και Event's officer, πιστεύω πως απέκτησα την απαραίτητη πείρα για να
5. αναλάβω την θέση του προέδρου, μια θέση με πολύ περισσότερες
6. αρμοδιότητες. Έχοντας λάβει μέρος στις φετινές δραστηριότητες του ομίλου
7. μας και επίσης έχοντας οργανώσει πολλές άλλες δραστηριότητες, τόσο του
8. ομίλου μας όσο μαζί και με άλλα πανεπιστήμια του Λονδίνου, έμαθα πολλά
9. σχετικά με το τι χρειάζονται οι φοιτητές μας, καθώς επίσης και τι χρειάζεστε
10. ένας όμιλος σαν τον δικό μας για να πετύχει τον στόχο του.

²¹ See Appendix D7 for the complete version of the document.

²² See Appendix D8 for the complete version of the document.

1. [= Hi guys. I would like to run for the position of Chair for 2010-2011.
2. Having two years of experience in the Society as Fresher's Director and Event's
3. officer, I believe I gained the necessary experience to take on the position of Chair, a
4. position with many more responsibilities. Having taken part in this year's activities of
5. our Society and also having organized many other activities for our Society and in
6. collaboration with other universities in London, I learned a lot about what our
7. students need, and what a Society like ours needs to achieve its objective.

(Dataset A, March 2010, Manifesto E-mail I)

Improvement means advancement which gives him some degree of control of the trajectory he has chosen (Wenger, 1998:155). In both documents, John negotiates his form of participation; he draws on his prior history in the Committee to assert his membership by projecting his future position in next year's social configuration (Wenger, 1998:197). John directs his energies towards full participation and claims a place aligned with legitimacy of membership; a form of membership that will allow him to engage, cooperate and negotiate with other members practices that define the Society.

Through mutual engagement newcomers are able engage with their future in the Society, as that is embodied by old-timers (Wenger, 1998:156). Newcomers gain access to the community and its practice through Society registration and by being introduced by old-timers to its practice (Wenger, 1998:100). From that point onwards, forms of participation stemming from various degrees of engagement depend on the trajectories each member takes on. In the case of Chrissie and John, inbound trajectories provide the context in which they determine what is potentially significant, what matters most and what contributes to a sense of self (Wenger, 1998: 155). Surely, being on an inbound trajectory necessitates been granted enough legitimacy in order not to come short in what the community considers competent engagement (Wenger, 1998:101) related to particular forms of participation. The following section deals precisely with such issues: Society roles and positions that legitimate particular forms of participation and engagement.

6.2 Legitimated identities: positions of power in conducting Society business

A community's practices, social and linguistic behaviour are part of a trajectory of realities; and by realities I am referring to the different contexts in which the

community and its members operate. Online environments are an important resource employed by the participants to communicate and to share information constituting part of a trajectory of available resources for engaging in practice. To begin with, extract 6.9 is part of an email sent by the Society's Chair, Alexandros, to all the Committee members. The email gives updates and information about future events.

Extract 6.9

Description: e-mail sent by the Society's Chair (Alexandros) to committee members.²³

Date: Tue, 6 Oct 2009 21:49:31 +0100

Subject: News Update

1. Kalispera!
2. 2. Epistrefo apo ena meeting pou itan san tin mikri annoula.. elipan ta misa ta meli!
3. Lipon:
4. 1) Mboroun ta meloi mas na graftoun pleon sto society online sto www.fixtureslive.com. I
5. istoselida p ine protovoulia tou HEISU mas dini ke tin dinatotita emas san admin na
6. elenhoume pioi en grammenoi alla prepi na graftite gia na sas kamw admin. Fetos prepi na
7. pollinoume ta meloi mas gia na mboroume na imaste pio dinatoi otan organonoume events
8. me alla panepistimia (but don't let it worry you too much epidi otan kamoume events ke
9. exoume diaforetikes times gia members ke non members en na graftoun apo monoi tous,
10. apla remind them to join-en na stali ke email)
11. 2) kamno sas attach ke to logo p esxediasse o Thanos. Elpizw na sas aresi ke i selida i opia
12. tha ine etimi entos tw nimerwn, swsta thano?
13. 3) Perimenoume pao to nikola na mas kami finalise ta teleutea details tou dinner ke na
14. ftiaxoume ta isitiria ke na arhisoume tin polisi. Adrianne otan exo ta details mboris na
15. sxediasis ena ticket? Chrissie, Nicholas P, Alexandros tha polisoume ta tickets.
16. 4) Sas grafo apo kato mia lista apo events p tha organonthoun to trimino touto:
17. 3 Novemberr- Musical: Chrissie and Andriane tou organise that
18. 3 November- Pithano *Party* se club: Nicholas, Michael ke John to arrange that
19. 18 November- Pithano Games night: Gyula and Chrissie to arrange that
20. 1 December- Pithano Xmas *Party*?: aste to panw mou
21. 6 December- Ice Skating: thanos and Gyula to book tickets
22. 5) Lipon, gia ta events touta miliste metaxi sas ke kinithite na vrite events/times/wres etc..
23. Mexri tin erxomeni Kyriaki 18 tou minos tha miliso me olous sas na dw ti ginete..
24. [...]
25. Alexandros

1. [= Good Evening!
2. I return from a meeting that was just like little Annie...half the parts were missing!
3. So
4. Our members can now register to the Society online at www.fixtureslive.com. The
5. Website, which is n initiating of HEISU gives us the opportunity as administrators to
6. Check who is registered, but you have to sign up and I will make you administrators
7. This year we have to increase the number of our members so we can be stronger when
8. organizing events with other universities ((but don't let it worry you too much because when
9. we organize events we will have different prices for members and non-members and they
10. will want to register) just remind them to join – an email will be send as well.

²³ See Appendix D15 for the full e-mail

11. 2) I attach the logo that Thanos designed. I hope you like it; the website will be ready within
12. days right Thanos?
13. 3) We are expecting Michael to finalize the final details of the dinner and make the tickets
14. and start selling. Adrienne when I have the details could you design a ticket? Chrissie,
15. Nicholas P., Alexandros we will all sell the tickets.
16. 4) I produced a list below with events to be organized for this semester:
17. 3 November- Musical: Chrissie and Andriane tou organise that
18. 3 November- Possible Party sat a club: Nicholas, Michael John to arrange that
19. 18 November- Possible Games night: Gyula and Chrissie to arrange that
20. 1 December- Possible Xmas Party?: aste to panw mou
21. 6 December- Ice Skating: thanos and Gyula to book tickets
22. 5) So for these events talk with each other and proceed accordingly towards finding events/
23. times/ hours etc.. By next Friday, the 18th of the month, I'll be talking to all of you to see
24. what is happening.
25. [...]
26. Alexandros]

(Dataset A, 06/10/09, Committee E-mail A)

The email was circulated to Committee members to update and give information, which as it appears in line 2 have been established in a Committee meeting in which however half of the Committee members did not attend. As a starting point, I will approach the analysis of this piece of data by focusing on the one hand on the ways in which engagement translates into the identity of a Chair of the Committee (status position) while on the other hand, of the identity of a member of the Society (part of a collective), by both using the imperative mode as well as the 2nd person plural throughout the e-mail.

The email in extract 6.9 begins by summarizing the group's progress and in this way gaining the attention of the other Committee members. Through summarizing the Society's progress (e.g. line 4: "Our members can now register to the Society online ...", line 36 "Trip. We have a small problem" and line 43 "We will be having a lot of people at the drinks tomorrow!, see Appendix D15) introducing new issues as invitations for action (e.g. lines 13-14 "We are expecting Michael to finalize the final details of the dinner and make the tickets and start selling") and preventing discussion on alternative line of actions by outlining in numbers issues that need to be dealt with, the Chair manages to achieve control both over the content of the e-mail and over the other Committee members (cf. Owens, Neale and Sutton, 2000). Alexandros signals his subject position and exercises his power to 'open up' or 'fence' practices by his use of imperative, introduction of new lines of action and control over the content of the e-mail. Alexandros is exercising the socially claimed right and duty to 'speak on

behalf of the group as his position in the Committee as the Chair or representative allows him; in the interest of facilitating and organizing the content of the e-mail, Alexandros' is granted and even grants himself with more freedoms and rights to control the conversation (Tan and Moghaddam, 1999:185).

Notably, the length of the email, the tone and specific language used does not invite any responses from the Committee's members, exemplifying the Chair's identification with his position as a higher status member. For example, the use of imperatives in various points of the e-mail such as line 22 "miliste metaxi sas ke kinithite" (talk with each other and proceed accordingly), line 30 "evrete tickets ke agoraste" (find tickets and buy), line 32 "pete mou" (tell me) and line 44 "evrete metaxi sas" (find together), express obligations related to Society roles and become devices through which other Committee members are reminded of their membership in the Committee and their responsibilities that come with the positions they hold. As the only person higher in rank, Alexandros has gained the legitimacy to instruct members to do what it is that they have to do²⁴. The e-mail can be described as an activity-oriented situation which encases the use of imperative mood; the focus of such interaction is the task to be performed by the Society members for the benefit for both the author and recipient of the emails and in extent face redress is irrelevant (Sifianou, 2000:131). The choice of imperative mood can however be an index of intimacy and involvement with the other Committee members, in that norms of cooperation governing the Committee in the establishment of practices as well as the fact that many Committee members are part of the same close-knit groups (See Section 5.1) allows for informality and neglect of politeness (Friedrich, 1972:184-185). In a way Alexandros' use of the imperative, the length of the email, the progress summarizing and introduction of topics of discussion (with suggested solutions/answers) sets the tone of the interaction, in that it appears as a document with decided upon actions and guidelines; a document in which the other Committee members are in essence invited to act upon the content of the e-mail rather than interact.

Another interesting element of the email is that Alexandros' use of addressing devices in the message allows him to assign participant roles both in terms of the

²⁴ See Appendix D9 for an additional e-mail sent by the Chair to other Committee members preserving the same features (directives, use of 'grounders' – "clauses following request and give justification for the act requested" (Sifianou, 1999:185) – and the imperative mood) as in Extract 6.9.

message itself and in terms of their responsibilities and assigned tasks. Evidently, the email is sent to all the Committee members from the Society's email account indicating that the message is directed to all the members. However, at some points in the text there is explicit addressing to individuals, either through the use of vocatives such as 'swsta thano?' (right thanos?) in line 12, 'Adrianne' in line 14 and 'Thano' in line 30, or through the use of second person pronouns such as 'Esis ti lete' (what do you think?) in line 42. Alexandros' use of a tag question along with a vocative in line 12 becomes a means of communicating a particular point of view and encouraging involvement (Moore and Podesva, 2009:458). In detail, the tag question employed in this case functions as a 'question directive' which invites Thanos' involvement and thus agreement to act with Alexandros' proposition regarding the completion of the Society's website design (Sifianou, 2000:174). The tag is employed here not as an invitation for a reply expressing agreement but is rather employed as means to emphasize Thanos' role-dependent duties, considering that Thanos is the web designer. Alexandros uses the power that his Committee position (Chair) offers him to engage Thanos in action. In detail, through the use of peremptory tag Alexandros does not provide Thanos with an opportunity to show cause for not complying with the proposition. Similarly, explicit address to Adrianne in line 16 in the form of question and the subsequent sentence place Andrianne in a position of not being able to refuse. The interrogative sentence can be seen as a way of placing obligation on Adrianne's part to meet with the proposition, as the content of the following sentence is based on the grounds that Adrianne will meet with the task assigned to her.

Despite the placement of recipients in the 'To' field as stable and fixed, participant roles in the message can shift towards particular individuals (Skovholt and Svennevig, 2006:48), calling upon positions that participants are identified as. For example the addressing of Thanos called upon in line 12 is based on: a) Thanos' identification as the Society's Web Officer, b) Thanos' responsibilities adhering to his position and c) Thanos' identification as the author of the new logo. The ascribed identity category 'web-designer' is bestowed on Thanos through his acquisition of a committee position as a 'web-designer' but even more so after identity performing acts such as designing the Society's website and in this case the logo; such performing acts are role-dependent (Blommaert, 2005:206). Mutual engagement in a joint enterprise can become evident in relations of 'identification with' and 'identification as', which

trigger particular stances such as the one I have described in the email analysis. Surely, ‘inhabited’ and ‘ascribed’ identities appear to be at constant play in Committee members’ communication, in that for the achievement of a particular goal members rely on other members’ ascribed identities, and those members’ inhabited identities drive their engagement towards the pursuit of the goal (Blommaert, 2005).

Nonetheless, in order to do justice to the analysis of this email message it is also necessary to refer to how it allows the sender to project both the identity of a higher status member as well as the identity of a member, a ‘co-worker’ in the Society. To begin with, mutual engagement in a joint enterprise places both the Chair and the other Committee members as part of a ‘group as a unit’. In detail, the Chair’s extensive use of 1st person plural when referring to what needs to be done, indicates that the Chair identifies himself as being in a similar position with the other members, since the energies required for the goal achievement is an issue that involves every single one of the Committee members. With the exception of ‘kathomaste’ (sit), ‘exoume’ (have) and ‘kinithoume’ (move) in line 45 which are used inclusively, the remaining verbs in 1st person plural are used exclusively. Such cases are: “pollinoume” (increase) in line 7, “kamoume” (do) in line 8, “polisoume” (sell) in line 15 and “exoume” (have) and “filoxenisoume” (welcome) in lines 36 and 45 respectively. The inclusive ‘we’ in ‘kathomaste’, ‘exoume’ and ‘kinithoume’ conveys solidarity with all the Society members (Committee and non-Committee) in that it is suggestive of an inclusive spirit and expresses concerns that will affect all the members’ participation in an event (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 115). On the other hand, the extensive use of exclusive ‘we’ conveys an institutional sense of ‘we’ calling upon the roles and positionings each one of the members of the Committee attains, as the exclusive ‘we’ is continually used with reference to role related activities and future lines of action that Committee members need to take for the Society to be operational (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). In a way the use of exclusive ‘we’ translates as: ‘I am informing you of what we as a team have to do to reach our goal’, which in extent signals indirect appeals for collaboration.

In addition to all the above, the extensive use of lower case letters even in cases where capitals are required (e.g. amsterdam instead of Amsterdam in line 37 and megali deytera in lines 42-43), the omission of conventional salutations and closings (e.g. ‘Good evening’ instead of ‘Agapitoi’/‘Dear’) the non-use of titles and the switches to informal language such as the Cypriot-Greek dialect (e.g. ‘elipan’ line 2,

‘pollinoume’ line 7, ‘en na’ line 9, ‘evrete’ line 30), are all considered to be status moves in terms of equality as the employment of such “informal language use is conventionally reserved for use among status equals” (Owens, Neale and Sutton, 2000:217). Nevertheless, the informality of e-mail communication allows for the use of such linguistic devices which enhance positive politeness and construct symmetrical alignments between participants (Tsiplakou, 2009:380, Owens, Neale and Sutton, 2000:217).

Members hold different positions both in relation to the Society and in relation to each other, and therefore it seems natural to engage in interaction and make relevant selves that are in accordance to what they identify with. In order to exemplify this point I will refer to extract 6.10 – which shows email exchanges between Committee members during October 2009. The exchange was triggered by an email sent by the Chair regarding a document with information about the Society’s annual trip. The Chair attached the document which was planned to be sent to all members of the Society, and asked the Committee members to share their views before he went on to circulate the document (See Appendix D10 for the document). Similar to extract 6.9 Alexandros is the one who introduces this practice to the members as his position of power allows him. Besides the initiator of the email exchange, five out of seven Committee members engaged in the exchange providing their suggestions and clarifications.

Extract 6.10

Description: E-mail exchanges between committee members

Participants: Nicholas (PR/External Relations Officer), Thanos (Web Officer), Andriane (Vice President), Alexandros (Chair), Chrissie (Fresher’s Director) and John (Sports/Events Officer).

1) From: Nicholas

Date: Sun, 18 Oct 2009 23:32:37 +0200

Subject: RE: Deste to email gia to trip ke pete mou an ine ok i an thelete na prosthesete kati

1. pisteukw en mia xara re file touto alla kai cash na mas ta dosei kapios en eshi prob apla
2. kamnoumen ta katathesi emis kapia fasi...! aplos epidi eshi pollous pou en tha theloun na pan
3. trapezes ktl ktl...an theli kapios btw na klisei monos tou mporoume na tou poume ores ktl je
4. na mpe easyjet.co.uk na klisei simfoneis?

[= Subject: RE: See the e-mail about the trip and tell if it’s ok or if you want to add something

1. I think this is fine mate but even if someone gives us cash there won’t be a problem, we can
2. deposit them at some point...!it’s just that there might people that don’t want to go to the bank
3. etc etc...if someone wants to book by themselves we can inform them about the times etc and
4. they can go on easyjet.co.uk and book; do you garee?]

2) From: <heicysoc@googlemail.com>

Date: Sun, Oct 18, 2009 at 9:33 PM

Subject: Re: Deste to email gia to trip ke pete mou an ine ok i an theletena prosthesete kati

5. Simfono, twra na valw ke to cash na iparhi

[= *I agree I am going to put cash, so we have it as an option*]

3) From: **Thanos**

Subject: RE: Deste to email gia to trip ke pete mou an ine ok i an thelete na prosthesete kati

Date: Mon, 19 Oct 2009 14:00:51 +0200

6. Ela re file... Oi dikes m eisigiseis episynaptontai se .doc

[= *Hey mate... My suggestions are attached in a .doc*]

4) From: **Andriane**

Date: Mon, Oct 19, 2009 at 1:04 PM

Subject: RE: Deste to email gia to trip ke pete mou an ine ok i an thelete na prosthesete kati

7. looks ok to me alla 170?? en na tous foitsasoume.. evlepa epses hostels kai tickets.. me easy

8. jet pou luton vriskoume 60 lires k hostels mporoume na vroume 18-25 lires tin nixta to

9. atomo.... so i would say na valoume 140 maximum.. epd en na poun ppeee 170 lires

10. amsterdam en polla kleiw j paw monos mou toutoi peripezoun mas j theloun na fkaloun lires

[= *looks ok to me but 170?? We will scare them.. I was looking at hostels and tickets last night..we can get tickets for 60 pounds with easyjet from luton k hostels and we can find hostels for 18-25 pounds per night per person.... so i would say we price it at 140 maximum.. because they are going to say gosh 170 pounds for amsterdam is too much, I can book and gobymyself because it seems that these people are taking the piss, they jusy want to make money*]

5) From: **John**

Date: Mon, Oct 19, 2009 at 3:39 PM

Subject: RE: Deste to email gia to trip ke pete mou an ine ok i an thelete na prosthesete kati

11. re btw einai 'epistrofi stin kipro kai oxi sto kipro'

[= *btw it is 'return to cyprus and not in cyprus'*]

6) From: **chrissie**

Date: Mon, Oct 19, 2009 at 10:12 PM

Subject: RE: Deste to email gia to trip ke pete mou an ine ok i an thelete na prosthesete kati

To: heicysoc@googlemail.com

12. nomizo prepi na kamoume clarify pos tha gini i katathesi.an tha pigenoun se opiodipote

13. branch tis trapezas j na katathetoun monoi tous i an tha ta dinoun se emas j ena ta vali 1 gia

14. oulous. a j oso gia to xenodoxio ego protimo na men minoume se telia xalia j na doso lia

15. parapano.n xero gia esas,oti pi to majority

[= I think we should clarify how they are doing the deposit. Whether they will be going in any bank branch and deposit individually or whether they will be giving the money to us and one of us will be doing the deposits for everyone. As far as the hotel is concerned I would prefer we didn't stay in a crsppy hotel and pay a bit more for s better one. Don't know about you, whatever the majority says.]

(Dataset A, 18th-19th October 2009, Committee E-mail C)

The first reply to the email sent by Alexandros is by Nicholas (email 1) who suggests that an additional method of payment should be put in the document, while also suggesting that people can also book the trip by themselves. In email 2 Alexandros, who is the author of the document takes up Nicholas point, and agrees to include the additional payment method in the document (line 5). Despite the fact that Alexandros is the author of the document and the fact that he is has the highest rank and status in the Committee, he recognizes the significance of negotiating issues involving the Society and therefore accepts the contribution of another member. Interestingly in email 3, instead of making suggestions, Thanos proposes modifications to the text by editing Alexandros' original document. What is interesting here is that Thanos claims or rather assumes a footing of co-authorship (see section 2.2 for footing) by refusing the positioning ascribed to him by Alexandros. Thanos in this case no longer remains in the position in which Alexandros places him that is, a position of soliciting acceptance, but rather claims a position of co-authorship in that he is contributing to the creation of the document by editing it (See Appendix D11 for the edited version of the document suggested by Thanos).

Following Thanos' corrections Adrienne grants her approval of the document, but however contests the statement about the trip's price. Adrienne's argument has to do with the approval of the rest of the Society members which would result in their engagement with the trip. Therefore, mutual engagement in a shared goal which in this case is to attract members for the Society's trip drive Adrienne's stance towards the document, based on the annotated trip price. In the next email (email 5) John provides a minimal response by merely referring to a spelling mistake in the document. In the last email Chrissie suggests a clarification in the document and moves on to add her own preference for a hotel during the trip. Her last comment

however, “I don’t know about you, whatever the majority says” functions as a mitigation to her statement, showing that she recognizes that decisions on such issues need to be negotiated among members.

Another issue worthy of mentioning is the fact that these exchanges reflect a double framing that involves both institutional interaction and informal interaction. The term ‘frame’ refers to the “definition of what is going on in interaction”, “a sense of what activity is being engaged in, how speakers mean what they say” (Tannen, 1993:60). The e-mail exchange can be described as an institutional interaction since it “involves the participants in specific goal orientations which are tied to their institution relevant identities” (Heritage, 1997:163) which in this case are committee members as organizers of Society practices. The goal of these exchanges is to solicit acceptance of the actual document and in extent decide upon what will be communicated to the rest of the Society members. At the same time, it can also be described as an informal exchange among people with similar worries due to the use of the dialect and the spoken like syntax. For example dialect elements such as ‘eshi’ appear in line 1 (e-mail 1) and line 7 (e-mail5) respectively, while spoken like syntax such as ‘re file’ in e-mail 1 (line 1), ‘ela re file’ in e-mail 3 (line 6), ‘re’ in e-mail 5 (line 11). The members seem to Moreover, the exchange of these emails indicates how members freely provide their opinion, as this is part of the process, without necessitating the use of any emoticons or graphic representations that would mitigate any claims or that would appear as signs of approval (cf. Tseliga, 2007, Georgakopoulou, 1997).

The analysis of extracts 6.9 and 6.10 showed that the ways in which an individual experiences mutual engagement is largely an outcome of the ways in which they experience the positions they identify with and of the relations that are enabled through them. The concept of positioning as employed in the above analyses highlighted the fact that by positioning oneself and others on the basis of their Committee roles gives space for exercising power over other individuals and content of the interaction. Additionally, it became evident that individuals may negotiate subject positions assigned by others and claim positions that allow them to exercise membership and participation in the setting up of practices. Example 6.11 and 6.12 are online wall posts taken from Facebook (See Appendix E2 for full thread, including both example 6.11 and 6.12). Example 6.11 is part of an online interaction between the Chair, Alexandros, and the Public Relations Officer, Adrienne.

Extract 6.11

Description: Alexandros' post to Adrienne's (2008/09 PR/Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President) Facebook Wall

Participant: RES1: Alexandros, 21 year old male, Society's 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 Chair)

Alexandros (HEI University London) wrote at 00:32 on 02 March 2009

1. en theloume monopoli! ahriasta exoda! exoume hartia ke tavli! KANI!

1. [= *We don't need monopoli! Unnecessary expenses! We have cards and*
2. *back-gammon! That's ENOUGH!*]

(Dataset D, 02/03/09, Thread B)

The post by Alexandros (2nd March 2009) is indicative of how issues for negotiation can be communicated in various contexts. In this post, Alexandros informs Adrienne that there is no need to purchase any more table games (referring to the Society's planned Games Night), since he considers it to be unnecessary expenses, and finishes his comment by saying that what they already have is enough. The word 'KANI' ('enough') at the end of Alexandros post appears in capital letters followed by an exclamation mark. Through the use of capitals Alexandros manages to emphasize the word while at the same time indicate closure of the issue discussed. Alexandros, who is the Chair of the Society's Committee, clearly orients to and signals his Committee position by projecting his discourse role (the person issuing commands) through the use of the determiner 'enough' to put an end to the discussion and exercise his power to control the organised practice. Notably, despite the fact that Facebook is an online social networking site, employed by the participants to serve social functions vis-à-vis their interpersonal relations, the framing here changes into a site in which Society business can also take place. This is evident in the fact that Adrienne's possible suggestion about buying more table games does not appear in Alexandros' Wall. Her suggestion could have been made via other modes of communication, but Alexandros' employs Facebook to reply. Facebook as part of the Society's shared repertoire is employed by members, each time to serve the purposes of communication and process of negotiation that members choose. Focusing on the issue of mutual engagement and how that might frame particular interactions either that be offline or online, I will refer to example 6.12 which I believe reflects such an occurrence.

Extract 6.12

Description: Adrianne's post to Alexandros' (2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 Society Chair) Facebook Wall

Participant: RES2: Adrianne, 20 year old female, Society's 2008/09 PR/Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President

Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote at 17:09 on 20 February 2009

1. parakalw na stamatiseis na ekfrazais politikes apopseis epeidi eisai proedros tou
2. society k en na nomisoun polloi oti tis apopseis sou tis simmerizontai ola ta meli!!!

1. [= Please stop expressing political beliefs because you are the Society's Chair
2. and everyone will think that your beliefs are shared by all the members.]

(Dataset D, 20/02/09, Thread B)

In extract 6.12, Adrianne posts to Alexandros' Facebook Wall and urges him to stop expressing his political beliefs. Notably, during the time of posting the elections for the National Union of Cypriot Students in UK were taking place, and Alexandros' expression of beliefs involved a video he had posted in his Facebook Wall regarding a student political party running for the elections. Adrianne's request in this extract may be a result of three factors: a) Adrianne may not be part of the same political party as Alexandros and therefore her annoyance and b) Adrianne is concerned about the impact of Alexandros' actions on the Society, since the Society claims to be a non-political and non-governmental Society, whose members of the Committee are precluded from politically based procedures and are not allowed to promote within the Society candidates in politically based elections (See Appendix A1 for the Society's Constitution) and c) Adrianne challenges Alexandros identity as chair as his act goes contrary to his role as 'Chair' and highest in rank representative of the Society, as the Chair should not direct members of the Society towards such political moves.

Another possibility that rises is that Adrianne could be making an effort to tease the Chair (as this is a usual practice in their Facebook communication, See Appendix E2 for their online interaction), despite the absence of emoticons such as smileys and the presence of multiple punctuation ('!!!') at the end of the sentence. Adrianne in an effort to teasingly prevent him from posting such videos makes relevant Alexandros' identity as Chair despite the fact that the post occurred in his personal Facebook page. The Society is a non-governmental and non-political organization but nonetheless the constitution does not prohibit personal expression of political beliefs, especially in an individual Facebook page.

Beyond the actual purposes of her comment, Adrienne's interactional move is an indicator of her membership identity/status. In particular, Adrienne as a member of the Committee and as an individual who has knowledge of the Society's Constitution, identifies with the rights that her position grants her to speak about Society rules. Despite the fact that the Chair is in a higher hierarchical position, Adrienne's relation of association with the Committee and her role in it grants her claims legitimacy. It is doubtful whether a non-Committee member would have made such a move as it could be considered face-threatening and status-damaging for the Chair. Additionally, there has been no evidence in the data indicating that non-Committee members publicly challenge or criticize actions of particular individuals of the Committee. Moreover, the position of a non-Committee member does not really involve concerns about the Chair complying to such rules and obligations nor do such members share concerns about what other members would think of the Society. Thus, Adrienne's post is triggered by her identification with the identity of a Committee member; an identification that includes relations that shape who she is both with regards to the Society as a Committee member and with regards to Alexandros (as she has developed close contact with him through their membership in the Committee).

Another issue that emerges from the above thread is the issue of power. On the one hand, Adrienne positions Alexandros as the individual at the top of the Society's hierarchy whose power is generally acknowledged. By making-relevant his position in the Society she is inferring that his position grants him power to influence members and perhaps postulate specific political beliefs. On the other hand, Adrienne also re-negotiates her position as a hierarchically lower member and issues a command to Alexandros to seize posting videos with politically loaded content. Evidently, issues of power balance and positioning are re-negotiated depending on the communicative intent.

Apparently institutional business can run along different contexts, ranging from Society meetings, casual face-to-face interactions, Facebook and e-mails. Overall, such interactions documented in this section revolve around the activities of the Society, with the participants identifying with particular roles related to forms of community membership (Lave and Wenger, 1991:37). It becomes evident that mutual engagement in a jointly negotiated enterprise (i.e. exchanging views about the Society trip document) appears to be a crucial element in calling upon the projection of particular roles and positions that emerge from various forms of participation.

Forms of membership in extent shape interactions through identity articulations based on the degrees of participation.

6.2.1 The work of ‘brokering’: full membership as power to introduce new practices.

Committee members are certainly granted full membership status which in extent requires spending energy in organizing events, directing the Society, making decisions that best serve the purposes and goals of the Society and finally trying to adopt to changes with the ultimate goal of keeping the members happy and the society running (See extract 6.10 showing evidence of decision-making based on the Society’s well-being and members’ satisfaction). Committee members’ preoccupation with Society related issues as an indicator of engagement and involvement becomes an issue that may characterize informal encounters among friends. Formal and informal Committee meetings may involve suggestions made from Committee members as well as suggestions introduced or originating from outside the Community. With regards to the latter (suggestions originating from outside), evidence in this research showed that even though Committee members are in an insider trajectory, as they are central actors in the Society, they can also be described as brokers²⁵.

Extract 6.13 is a recording during which three members of the Society - two of which were members of the Committee at the time of the recording - were having lunch on campus. John and Gyula (members of the Committee) who have been previously talking about a suggestion made by John, exchange additional information and suggestions that emerged from their friendship with members of other Societies.

Extract 6.13²⁶

Description: During lunch on-campus the three members are discussing about events organized by other Cypriot Societies and how in collaboration with them they could organize events.

Participants: Gyula (21 year old male, Society’s 2008/09 Fresher’s Director and 2009/10 Treasurer), Meni (23 year old male, former committee member), John (21 year old male, Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 PR/Events Officer).

1. John: Εγώ εμίλησα με τον Αλέξαντρο, Στέλλει μου ο Αλέξαντρος ένα
2. μήνυμα. Το μην- ω: το σκιουράκι:: Στέλλει μου ο Αλέξαντρος ένα

²⁵ Brokers “are able to make new connections across communities of practice, enable coordination, and open new possibilities for meaning”. (Wenger, 1998:109)

²⁶ For transcription conventions See Appendix G5

3. μήνυμα, κάμνει μου έτσι, το μήνυμα έλεγε: ήταν ένα τηλέφωνο τσισαι
4. λαλεί μου Ισοδίου events- sports 12. officer του UCL. Τούτο (h)εν(h) το
5. μήνυμα.
6. Gyula: Περίμενε εσύ εν να που 'σαι στο committee;
7. John: Events.
8. Gyula: A.
9. John: Λοιπόν πιάνω το:ν, πιάνω τον Αλέξαντρο, λαλώ του εν να που θέλεις,
10. λαλεί μου ξέρεις τον Ισοδίου; Λαλώ του ξέρω τον Ισοδίου λαλώ του εν
11. καλός μου φίλος. Λαλεί μου ωραία λαλεί μου εν να κανονίσεις καμιά μάππα;
12. Να κανονίσω λαλώ του, να μιλήσω λαλώ του, θέλεις μιξ όξα θέλεις
13. μόνο σουβλάκια; Ξέρεις.

1. John: Well, I had a chat with Alexandros, and Alexandros sent me a text message.
2. The tex- awww a little squirrel. So Alexandros sent me a text message and said, well
3. the text said: well it was Isodiou's phone number- the events officer of UCL. This
4. was his text message.
5. Gyula: Okay, wait which position are you holding exactly in the committee
6. John: Events.
7. Gyula: Aah.
8. John: So I called him, I called Alexandros, and said to him what is it that you want,
9. and he said to me: Have you met Isodiou? And I've said not only do I know
10. Isodiou but he is a good friend of mine.
11. And he said to me, nice! So are you arranging a football match (with the UCL)?
12. Okay I will arrange it- I said to him, I'll talk to him, Do you want me to get you
13. mixed Kebab or just Kebab. You know.

(Dataset C, 13/10/09, Recording B)

To begin with, in lines 1-5 John refers to his communication with the Chair. In line 1, John's utterance begins with 'Εγώ εμίλησα με τον Αλέξαντρο' (I talked with Alexandros) and then continues with a re-enactment of the message Alexandros sent him. In line 6 Gyula's question 'Περίμενε εσύ εν να που 'σαι στο committee;' (Hang on what is your place in the Committee?) is evoked by John's statement 'ήταν ένα τηλέφωνο τσισαι λαλεί μου Ισοδίου events- sports officer του UCL'. Gyula's question is triggered by the label 'events-sports officer' that appears in John's telling of the telephone conversation he had with Alexandros. The request for clarification in this extract by Gyula (Treasurer) appears to question the relevance of John's position and responsibilities with the organization of a football match, which would fall under the responsibilities of the Society's Sports Director. As a member of the Committee, background knowledge of John's position and responsibilities seems to contrast with the inferences drawn from 'sports-events officer'. Gyula is cognisant that John is an events officer and therefore is trying to make sense of why Alexandros would call John for the arrangement of a futsal game and not Michael who is the Society's Sports

Officer. His question by extension is a clarification request on John's part. The exclamation 'A' in line 8 functions as a way of showing agreement and self-affirming his initial question in line 6, in that the exclamation functions as a device indicating old information recognition. John's Committee related role is brought to bear in this interaction as Gyula constructs a relation of dissociation between John's identification as Event's Officer and the information he had just heard. Gyula's initial question, John's answer and Gyula's exclamation display an acknowledgement sequence in which John's answer was the anticipated information to be received (Schiffrin, 1988:76). Interestingly, Gyula does not develop this argument further due to the information received in lines 10-11. The fact that John is Isodiou's friend and can therefore more easily make connections with him for the arrangement of the football match, supports Alexandros' message to John and not Michael who is the Society's Sports Director. John appears to have the legitimacy and ability to provide links with other communities which in the future could transform into practices. Similarly, Gyula positions himself as a member with the legitimacy to question the relevancy of suggestions for action based on their relevancy with Society related positions. Gyula's assessment of the value of brokering here results in a justified interpretation of John's Committee role and the newly assigned task.

One additional parameter for Gyula's choice to not further develop his argument about John's suitability in the task assignment is the fact that the Committee members are not restricted in carrying out tasks only related to their positions but engage in practice as a team (in interviews this view was the most prevalent theme emerging from the category-question 'responsibilities in committee') (See extract 4.2, Section 4.1). In the following extracts, which are part of the same recording, we can see two of the Committee's members referring to their connections with other Societies and how that can be used to enrich the Society's practices.²⁷

Extract 6.14

Description: During lunch on-campus the three members are discussing about events organized by other Cypriot Societies and how in collaboration with them they could organize events.

Participants: Gyula (21 year old male, Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Treasurer), Meni (23 year old male, former committee member), John (21 year old male, Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/09 PR/Events Officer).

1. Gyula: =Είπαν μου τσiai το Hellenic Society να κανονισουμε
2. κάτι.

²⁷ See Appendix G1 for a longer version of the recording.

3. Meni: Να μπον τούτο;
4. Gyula: Επειδή μίλησα εχτές με το Θάνο τσαι τον Γιώργο τσαι εν να κάμουν
5. τσαι τσιείνοι το Waterfront party τους την Παρασκευή, τσιείνο που εκάμαμεν
6. εμείς την προηγούμενην εβδομάδ. Άρα φαίνονται οργανωμένοι.
7. John: Ποιοι;
8. Gyula: Να δούμε αν πετύχει, να δούμε άμμαν εν να φέρουν μέλη την
9. Παρασκευή, οι καλαμαράες. Τσαι είπαν μου ρε θέλουμε να κάμουμεν κάτι
10. μαζί σας.

1. *Gyula: =I was also told by the Hellenic Society that we should all arrange*
2. *something together.*
3. *Meni: What is this?*
4. *Gyula: Well, I've had a chat yesterday with Thanos and George and they are*
5. *Having a party too, at the Waterfront on Friday- you know the same sort of thing*
6. *we had last week. So, em, they seem organised.*
7. *John: Who?*
8. *Gyula: Let's see if it works, we'll see if they have enough members on Friday, you*
9. *know the kalamaraes. And they said to me: it would be nice if we could all*
10. *organise something together.*

(Dataset C, 13/10/09, Recording B)

Extract 6.15

Description: During lunch on-campus the three members are discussing about events organized by other Cypriot Societies and how in collaboration with them they could organize events. In this instance John tells Alexandros, who has just arrived, about a possibility in collaborating with another Society. Participants: Gyula (21 year old male, Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Treasurer), Meni (23 year old male, former committee member), John (21 year old male, Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/09 PR/Events Officer) and Alexandros (Society's 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 Chair).

1. John: Έλα σου πώ έπιαν με ο κολλητός μου που το Imperial. Είπεν μου ότι
2. σήμερα έχουν bar night το Imperial, που απ'ότι εκατάλαβα εν όπως το dinner
3. μας αλλά κάμνουν το bar night τσιείνοι, πάσιν σε ένα μπαράκι, επήα τσαι 'γώ
4. πέρσι στο πρώτον τους. Την άλλην Τρίτη τες είκοσι έχουν- σκέφτοντε να
5. κανονίσουν, οϊ σκέφτοντε εν να κανονίσουν club, που εν να εν του Imperial,
6. τσαι είπεν μου αν εθέλαμεν να βάλουμε τσαι το HEI μέσα.
- 7.
1. [= John: I got a phone call from my best buddy who's at Imperial. He said that today.
2. It's bar night at Imperial, and from what I grasped it is almost the same event as
3. our dinner. They throw a bar night, you know, they hang around at a bar, last year
4. I've attended their first bar night. Next Tuesday on the 20th- they are planning of
5. organising, no they are not planning it, they are having a party at a Club, and he's
6. asked me if we would like to join as HEI.]

(Dataset C, 13/10/09, Recording B)

To begin with, John (example 6.15, lines 1 and 6) and Gyula (extract 6.14, lines 1 and 3) refer to practices that other societies engage in and introduce elements of those

practices to each other, as suggestions for the Society's engagement to such. Both John and Gyula function as brokers who make connections across communities, enabling coordination and alignment between perspectives and opening up new possibilities for action (Wenger, 1998:109). Notably, brokering work involves relations of multimembership. To be more precise, Committee members and members of any community engage in different practices in those communities and networks they may belong; such engagement in diverse practices is reconciled in terms of making their various forms of membership co-exist (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999). For example, John is part of a close-knit group (for a discussion on close knit groups see Section 5.1). One of the people in that close-knit group, just like John, is a member of a committee of another Cypriot student Society. In this manner, John reconciles his identity as a friend of that individual and as a member of the HEI Cypriot Society. These two forms of membership allow him to develop connections between his own Society and the Society of his friend, enabled through their friendship. The same holds true for both Gyula who lives with the two individuals of the Hellenic Society he names in example 6.14 (line 3).

As already mentioned at the beginning of this section, even though these members are full and central members of the Society, at the same time they seem to operate as brokers. This goes contrary to what Wenger suggests: "brokers must often avoid two opposite tendencies: being pulled in to become full members and being rejected as intruders. Indeed, their contributions lie precisely in being neither in nor out" (Wenger, 1998:110). Evidently brokering work in this case is done by members pulled into the centre of the Society. In contrast to Wenger's position towards brokering, I adhere to the view that brokering work can be done and even facilitated when members occupy central positions. More precisely, being a broker while occupying a Committee position is crucial, as their position in the committee is what gives them legitimacy to introduce and develop new practices coming from other communities. Non-committee members would not have been able to transfer practices, as their status does not allow them to be part of the group of people who negotiate decisions about the Society's practices. In support of this is the following interview extract.

Extract 6.16

Question: 'Ποια είναι η γνώμη σου για τις εκδηλώσεις που διοργανώνει το Society?' (What is opinion about the events organized by the Society?)

Participant: RES9: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member

1. Georgiana: Μερικές φορές φαίνονται μου ανοργάνωτες λίο, αλλά
 2. φαντάζομαι έχουν τσαι έλλειψη χρόνου τα πλάσματα. Τσαι γενικώς σαν νε
 3. μεν λαμβάνουν υπόψη τους ας πούμε τα ενδιαφέροντα όλων μας ας πούμε,
 4. απλώς να ικανοποιηθούν κάποιων συγκεκριμένων ας πούμεν. []Γενικώς ας
 5. πούμε, άκουσα ότι τες παραπάνω αποφάσεις παίρνει τες ένας άνθρωπος μόνος
 6. του, τσαι πως -, ο πρόεδρος κυρίως τσαι απλώς ενημερώνει τσαι τα
 7. υπόλοιπα μέλη τσαι γίνεται εννα που να γίνει ας πούμε. Για να υπάρχει
 8. συμβούλιο ας πούμε σημαίνει ότι πρέπει να λαμβάνουν μέρος όλα τα μέλη
 9. τσαι να λαμβάνουν υπόψη το πώς το λένε την γνώμη τους.
-
1. [= Sometimes they seem a bit disorganized, but I imagine they lack the time.
 2. And generally it is as if they don't take into consideration lets say the things that
 3. are of interest to all of us; they only satisfy those of specific
 4. people lets say[...]. In general, I heard that most decisions are made by
 5. one person and that- the Chair mostly and he just informs the rest of the members
 6. and whatever is decided this is what is done. Since there is a committee it means that
 7. they should take into consideration all the members' opinion]

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

It is evident that decision making about Society practices involves the Society's Committee. With the election of a Committee, status-systems emerge within the Society creating a field of influence and power (Wenger, McDermott and Snyder, 2004:35), and in extent non-Committee members such as Georgiana are not given the legitimacy to bring in and introduce practices that may either be informed by personal interests or transferred from other communities of practice. In the 'opinion about events' category-question Georgiana makes relevant the theme of 'non-consideration of all the members' needs' (line 2-4), the theme of a 'leader-centred Society' and finally the theme of 'inclusion and consideration of members' opinion'. Generally speaking, a pattern has been noted in Georgiana's whole interview indicating disapproval of Society organization, disappointment in member contact and distancing herself from the group forming the Society. It appears here, that Georgiana's perception of Society events indicates the ways in which she experiences her form of membership (See section 6.4 for a discussion on Georgiana). In detail, such form of membership is presented as unfitted and illegitimate in promoting and introducing practices in the Society, and thus highlights the power attributed to central members in functioning as brokers.

6.3 From Insider to Outbound Identities: issues of ‘legitimacy to claim’

When talking about mutual engagement and its impact on the construction of membership identities, it is noteworthy to mention that the ways in which mutual engagement is translated by each member depends on their orientation towards particular positionings and on the relations through which they are enabled to carry out actions. Some of the Society’s members, and especially ex-Committee members find themselves negotiating roles, which in extent requires placing engagement in a temporal context (Wenger, 1998:155). Ex-Committee members follow an outbound trajectory which leads out of the Society and begin to negotiate between their previous central positions and their more marginal but nevertheless insider positions.

Meni, who has been a Committee member during the 2007-2008 and 2008-2009 academic years is a good example of an individual who appears to be in an outbound trajectory and has a different position vis-à-vis the Society. From June 2009 Meni was no longer a member of the Society’s Committee. The recording took place during the 2009-2010 academic year and more precisely in October 2009. Despite the fact that Meni is no longer part of the Committee, he is directing his energies towards full participation. Meni, attends all events organized by the Society, and holds the same close relations with members of the Society as in previous years. The way Meni steers his trajectory is evident in the following extract. The following extract involves Gyula, Meni and John discussing the arrangement of a party of a different Cypriot Society and the possibility of co-organizing it.

Extract 6.17

Description: During lunch on-campus the three members are discussing about events organized by other Cypriot Societies and how in collaboration with them they could organize events.

Participants: Gyula (21 year old male, Society’s 2008/09 Fresher’s Director and 2009/10 Treasurer), Meni (23 year old male, former committee member), John (21 year old male, Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 PR/Events Officer).

1. Meni: [Καλά ρε] εν τούντην Τρίτη που λέτε;
2. John: Σήμερα έχουν το bar night τους. Την άλλην Τρίτην τες 20 του μήνα έχουν τούντο πράμα.
3. Gyula: Εμείς, εμείς εν να που ’χουμεν (..) σε θκυό εφτομάες;
4. Meni: Εν εν πολλά νωρίς για να- εννοώ εν εν πολλά λίον το περιθώριο για να μπούμε μες’σε party;
5. John: Αφού εν εκατονίσαν τον venue ακόμα.
6. Meni: Εν εκατονίσαν το venue; Καλ(η)ά ρε πότε εν να το..

1. *Meni: [Okay] is it for this coming Tuesday you guys are talking about?*
2. *John: Today is bar night. Next Tuesday on the 20th they have the Bar night again.*
3. *Gyula: We, what are we doing (..) in two weeks?*
4. *Meni: Isn't it too early t- what I'm trying to say is that isn't this too little time for*
5. *organising a party?*
6. *John: But they haven't booked the venue yet.*
7. *Meni: They haven't booked the venue? Ooooookay so when..*

(Dataset C, 13/10/09, Recording B)

What is interesting here is Meni's use of person reference as an indicator of a mode of belonging. Initially, in line 1 Meni uses the 2nd person plural ('λέτε') to discuss about the Society's business but switches to 1st person plural ('να μπούμε') in line 6 to refer to the Society's involvement in the co-organization of the event. Firstly, Meni's use of 2nd person plural is a way of giving legitimacy to the roles of Gyula and John as Committee members who have been previously considering the suggestion as a good idea and therefore in a sense distancing himself from the power to provide such suggestion. In line 6 his use of 1st person plural does two things. By using first person plural Meni is placing himself as a member of HEI Cypriot Society, as 'να μπούμε' describes the sum of people constituting the Society among which Meni, and therefore the 'we' reference. At the same time however, the actual questioning of such a decision for a course of action in addition to the use of 'να μπούμε', is a way of projecting an ex-Committee member. What I mean by that, is that Meni as an ex-Committee member, with a two year experience projects the identity of a person with enough experience and knowledge on the matter to question the decision. As follows, the use of 'να μπούμε' allows Meni to place himself as part of the Society while at the same time projecting an identity of an 'expert'.

It can be said that through engagement and the work of 'imagination' and 'alignment' (See Section 2.4) Meni manages to appropriate the meaning of his new form of membership; his new form of membership is constitutive of Meni's identity by creating bonds between experience or prior history of who he was and identification of the position he occupies now (Wenger, 1998:191). As in Meni's case, orientation towards his identity of an insider congeals into a form of membership that allows him to place himself in the group of people whose claims have validity and legitimacy. Inclusion in what matters, functions as the basis for engagement in practice which in extent defines Meni's membership identity.

In a similar vein, forms of membership and mutual engagement allow individuals to build identities “through an investment of the self in relations of association and differentiation” (Wenger, 1998:188) with particular communities, groups of people, roles and positions. This is evident in the following example. In this example, during a meeting, the members of the Committee discuss the reformulation of Committee positions for the 2009 Society elections. Alexandros, the Chair of the Society has made a suggestion to convert the second position of ‘Freshers’ Director’ to a Publicity Officer position. The extract is part of the discussion that follows.

Example 6.18

Description: Members of the committee have arranged a meeting at Adrienne’s home. The meeting revolved around the upcoming Society elections, arrangement of events and coordination for further actions

Participants: Alexandros (Society’s 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 Chair), Adrienne (Society’s 2008/09 PR and Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President), Andreas (Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 Vice President), Eliza (Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 Treasurer), Meni (Society’s 2009/10 Secretary) and Michael (Society’s 2008/09 Sports Officer and 2009/10 Vice President).

8. Michael: Που λές εν καλή η ιδέα σου.
9. Alexandros: Επειδή:: για να ‘χουμε θκυό freshers εν λιον αχρείαστοι. Θκυό
10. freshers ας πούμε.
11. Michael: Ναι
12. Adrienne: Συγνώμη τι εν η ιδέα; Ένας fresherς τσαι [ο άλλος
13. Andreas: [Οϊ τα [γιατρού↑θκια], εν
14. αχρείαστα]
15. Alexandros: [Publicity]
16. Eliza: Ts. Hhh. τέλοςπάντων ντάξει. Άρα εν- [ένα publicity, ένας freshers] θκυό
17. vice-president εν να τους κρατήσουμε;
18. Adrienne: [Εσύ μεν μιλάς εν θα ‘σαι δαμέ του
19. χρόνου]
20. Alexandros: Εν να τους κρατήσουμε.
21. Andrienne: Hh.
22. Andreas: Ο λόος μου εν βαρετός.
23. Adrienne: Ντάξει.
24. Andreas: Πιάνει τόπο.

1. [= Michael: Your idea is quite good.
2. Alexandros: Because:: having two fresher’s is a bit unnecessary. Two
3. Freshers?
4. Michael: Yes
5. Andrienne: Sorry what’s the plan; One fresher’s and [the other
6. Andreas: [No the [baby do ↑ctors], are
7. unnecessary]
8. Alexandros: [Publicity]
9. Eliza: Ts. Hhh. Anyway okay. So on- [one publicity, one fresher’s] two
10. vice-president, are we keeping that?
11. Adrienne: [You stop talking you won’t

12. *be here next year]*
13. *Alexandros: We are keeping them.*
14. *Adrianne: Hh.*
15. *Andreas: My words count.*
16. *Adrianne: Okay.*
17. *Andreas: It counts].*

(Dataset C, 11/03/09, Recording A)

In lines 1-3 Michael, the Sports Director, provides his support to Alexandros by endorsing his suggestion. Adrianne, who was engaged in a ‘byplay’ conversation (“subordinated communication of a subset of ratified participants” (Goffman, 1981:134)) with Andreas, returns to the main conversation taking place by requiring clarification. Andreas also engages in the discussion by disapproving the usefulness of two particular individuals. Eliza addresses the Chair by summing what has been said, while Adrianne challenges Andreas comment.

What is of interest here, are lines 5-14. One of the meeting’s objectives was to discuss the forthcoming elections. Andreas’ interruption and comment in lines 6-7 ‘Οἱ τα γιαιτρούθκια, εν αχρείαστα’ (No the baby doctors are unnecessary) with a considerably sudden rise upwards in pitch and stress on the last two words, move the discussion away from the actual negotiation of the decision about Committee positions. The term ‘γιατρούθκια’ literally meaning little/small doctors refers to the two individuals that were currently holding the positions of Freshers Directors, namely John and Gyula, who were not present at the time of the recording. Andreas’ choice of a diminutive to refer to the two individuals relates to: a) John and Gyula’s young age - the youngest male members of the Committee- as diminutives are frequently used when referring to children and b) to status difference between Andreas (Vice-President) and John and Gyula (Freshers Directors (Sifianou, 2000:166)). The term ‘γιατρούθκια’ appears to have pejorative connotations here due to the fact that John and Gyula are at the early stages of their studying medicine and due to the young of their age and therefore cannot be recognized as ‘γιατροί’ (doctors). Despite the fact that diminutives usually express intimacy and familiarity, in situations such as this where participants are of different status, the effect is somehow incompatible and in extent what is highlighted here is the difference in social positions, where one has the power to use a diminutive to belittle the power of the addressee (Sifianou, 2000:167).

By taking up Alexandros' comment on the unnecessary two positions of Freshers Directors, Andreas performs what could be considered a face threatening act to John and Gyula by adding that they are indeed unnecessary, however referring not to the positions but the individuals currently holding those positions. Face-threatening acts are "acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker". Acts threatening people's negative face are those which impede on the independence and freedom of the addressee's actions, while acts threatening people's positive face are those which disapprove the addressee's wants (Brown and Levinson, 1978:70 cited in Sifianou, 2000:32-33). Andreas' appears to disapprove Gyula's and John's wants to participate in the Committee and in extent threatens their positive face. In line 9 Eliza, utters a click sound followed by audible out-breathing 'Ts. Hhh.'. This instance here is considered to be interactionally important as to what it does to the conversation. The expression of such sounds at this particular moment is an interactional move by Eliza to show her disapproval towards Andreas' comment in that her comment 'τέλος πάντων ντάξει' (anyway okay) following the sounds, indicate closure of the preceding discussion. The phrase 'τέλος πάντων' meaning 'anyway' is a discourse marker which marks prior discourse, in this case Andreas' comment, as tangential to the main point of the conversation (Schiffrin, 1987:165). Andreas' comment is perhaps considered irrelevant or inappropriate and with the insertion of 'τέλος πάντων' as well as with a recapitulation of what has been said so far Eliza returns to the main point of the conversation.

In line 11 Adrienne takes a different stance towards Andreas' comment and challenges the legitimacy of his claim by urging him to stop talking as he has no authority to: 'Εσύ μὲν μιλάς ἐν θὰ 'σαι δαμέ τοῦ χρόνου' ('You stop talking, you won't be here next year'). Line 11 is an example of a FTA to Andreas' negative face impeding his freedom of action. The fact that Adrienne utters a FTA with such ease is facilitated by her relation with Andreas, as the two were a couple at the time, while her silent laughter in line 14 surely mitigates her use of imperative in that it modifies her negatively loaded request. Andreas contests Adrienne's comment by saying 'Ο λόος μου ἐν βαρετός' ('my words count' in line 15) in order to save face (defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown and Levinson, 1978:66 cited in Sifianou, 2000:31), while Adrienne uses 'Ντάξει' ('okay' in line 16) in order to indicate the end of their discussion. At the same time 'Ντάξει'

also functions as a downgraded agreement which as a very weak form of agreement prefacing her disregard of Andreas' statement (Liddicoat, 2007:119).

Interestingly, lines 11-17 provide information on how forms of membership allow people to orient to identities of association and differentiation. More specifically, Adrienne's identification with the group and her present and future membership in such contribute to her use of a direct imperative to Andreas followed by a 'grounder' (clause that precedes or follows requests giving justifications for the act requested (Sifianou, 2000:185)). Adrienne identifies Andreas as a ratified participant and an insider on the one hand, while on the other hand she identifies Andreas as an individual who is in an outbound trajectory – due to his transfer to a different university – and therefore his claims about who should or should not be part of next year's committee are not given legitimacy. Therefore, contrary to Andreas whose legitimacy to claim seizes to exist with his departure from the University, Adrienne's future participation in the Society puts her in a position of power in claiming membership and responsibility that arises from her committee role.

At the same time, if we consider that identification of oneself with a particular role is both a reificative and participatory process, then it becomes clear why Adrienne has made such an interactional move. Adrienne identifies with the Society, her position, and the Society's members. She develops an association of the self with what membership in the Society grants her; an association which becomes constitutive of the role she inhabits. Adrienne is a member of the Committee who planned to continue to be a member for the 2009/10 academic year, and that very association grants her legitimacy to have a say on issues such as the election, as well as legitimacy to challenge Andreas' claim. Identities of belonging come into play, and more specifically identities of association and differentiation in terms of legitimacy of claims. In the following extract an ex-Committee member's use of 2nd person plural when referring to the Society's Committee is challenged.

Extract 6.19

Context: Afternoon coffee at Eliza's halls of residence. The discussion revolves around the 'Charlies' and their involvement in the Society and more specifically in the Committee.

Participants: Eliza (Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Treasurer), Adrienne (Society's 2008/09 PR and Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice-President) and Valentina (Researcher)

1. Eliza: Ευτυχώς εν ενεκατώθηκε τούτη μεσ' το Society, εμφαντάστηκες να μας
2. κουβαληθεί τζιαι τούτη;
3. Adrienne: Κάτι ήταν να- τι εννοείς να μας κουβαληθεί; Εσύ έφουες, εγλίτωσες =

4. Eliza: =Σε παρακαλώ, [τα δικαιώματα]
 5. Adrienne: [Εφύαν που την κκελλέ σου]
 6. Eliza: Τα δικαιώματα που έχω εγώ μέσα [στο committee]
 7. Adrienne: [Εμας μας κουβαλιούνται]
 8. Eliza: Ε σε παρακαλώ, έπρεπε να με κάμετε- να μου κάμετε honorary position.
-
1. [= Eliza: Thank God she didn't get involved in the Society, could you imagine if she
 2. would impose upon us as well?
 3. Adrienne: Something would- what do you mean impose upon us? You left, you got away with it =
 4. Eliza: =Please, [the rights]
 5. Adrienne: [They are not a burden for you no more]
 6. Eliza: The rights that I have in [the committee]
 7. Adrienne: [It is upon us that they impose]
 8. Eliza: Please, you should have give- you should have given me an honorary position.]

(Dataset C, 07/05/09, Recording C)

In line 1 Eliza refers to the non-involvement of an individual in the Society, and more specifically in the Society's Committee. By making reference to the Society's Committee she then uses the first person plural possessive pronoun 'μας'. While Adrienne began adding something else to the conversation she interrupts her utterance and questions the validity of Eliza's statement. What appears to be getting Adrienne's attention is Eliza's use of 'μας', which Adrienne explicitly challenges by reminding Eliza that she is no longer part of the Committee. In line 7, Eliza's exclusion becomes more evident through Adrienne's use of an exclusive possessive pronoun. The double phrasing of first person plural possessive pronoun emphasizes Adrienne's inclusion in such, while it positions Eliza as an outsider. Adrienne appears to distinguish between who has the right to complain about the 'Charlies' and who does not on the basis of Society related roles and positions.

When Adrienne makes relevant that Eliza's use of the possessive pronoun with an inclusive spirit contrasts with her position as non-Committee member, Eliza makes reference to her rights in the Committee (line 6). In line 8 Eliza begins her utterance with 'Σε παρακαλώ' which functions as a request to stop challenging Eliza's right to claim and uses the modal 'έπρεπε' in referring to 'honorary position' which expresses strong obligation. Eliza's reference to 'δικαιώματα που έχω εγώ μέσα στο Committee' (line 6) which she further supports with reference to 'honorary position', (line 8) expresses Eliza's strong bonds with prior history of what her role in the Committee was ('Eliza has been one of the founding members of the Society when it was re-activated in 2006'); she maintains bonds in which she becomes invested

(Wenger, 1998:191). Through ‘alignment’ as a mode of belonging (See Section 2.4) Eliza identifies with the actions of the Committee members. Interestingly, the verb ‘κουβαληθεί’ first used by Eliza, is not challenged by Adrianne, but is rather adopted when she uses ‘εγλίτωσες’ (line 3) with reference to ‘κουβαλιούνται’ (line7). It appears that while Eliza is an ex-Committee member she has knowledge of general ideologies and attitudes governing the Committee that are here expressed by Adrianne. Despite the fact that Eliza no-longer has the legitimacy to claim, her use of first person plural displays access to knowledge and her strong feeling of affiliation with the Committee and in general her involvement with the Society.

Different forms of participation are affected by processes of identification and negotiability; identification as investment of the self in relations of association and differentiation and negotiability as the control one has over the meanings in which one is invested (Wenger, 1998:188). The extracts above describe cases in which ex-Committee members negotiate meanings of membership rights and obligations. Different members acquire differential forms of participation, depending on their interests, where they locate themselves in a social landscape and prior histories (Wenger, 1998:167). Surely, the Society does not necessarily succeed in promoting the value proposition of membership to all its members and in extent some members develop peripheral or partial participation. The case of Georgiana is an indicative case of peripheral membership.

6.3 Peripheral membership: A Case Study

As it became evident in Chapter 5, while investigating social relations, one can have valuable information with regards to member participation in the Society. Looking at Table 9 (Section 5.1) one can see that Georgiana is not named by any of the other participants as a person belonging to their close contacts. Notably, Georgiana does not name any of the focal participants as part of her close-knit group either. In the Sociogram (Figure 13, Section 5.1) Georgiana appears to have close social links with people that are HEI students, and classmates of hers, two of whom attend the Society’s events however quite rarely. The non-naming either on her part or on the other members’ part could be justified by Georgiana’s report that her membership has

not allowed her to socialize with other members of the Society or generally people from Cyprus.

Extract 6.20

Interview Question: ‘The fact that you are member of the Society, was it something that allowed you to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?’

Participant: RES9: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member

1. Georgiana: Εεε...να σου πώ την αλήθεια όχι. Δηλαδή ότι ήταν να
 2. γνωρίσω εγνώρισα τους μόνη μου στην ουσία. Δηλαδή εν τούτο που έλεα
 3. τσαι τον- τσαι το πρώτο έτος. Φυσικά το πρώτο έτος εν ήσουν εσυ δαμέ.
 4. Αλλά γενικώς εν τσαι βοηθήσαν με καθόλου. Ας πούμεν να καταλάβεις στην
 5. πρώτη συνάντηση ούτε καν είχα ενημερωθεί εγω, ήρτα μόνη μου στο Λονδίνο
 6. εν ήξερα κανένα, τσαι εν είχα ενημερωθεί καν ότι είσιεν συνάντηση πριν να
 7. έρτουμε, ξέρεις η συνάντηση στην Λευκωσία. Εν είχα καν ενημερωθεί ότι
 8. υπάρχει τούντο πράμα ας πούμε. Τέλοσπάντων διότι δεύτερο χρόνο όταν επήα
 9. ας πούμε προσπάθησα τουλάχιστον να μιλήσω με κάποια άτομα εν ήθελα να
 10. περάσουν τούντο που πέρασα εγώ ας πούμεν που ήρτα τέλεια μόνη μου. Αλλά
 11. ‘ντάξει εν πολλοβοηθά ρε συ, εν ενηξέρω εννεν σωστά έτσι που τα
 12. κάμνουσιν. Πηαίνουσιν, ακόμα τσαι στο pre-departure πάμε τσαι
 13. κλικκώνουσιν ρε παιδί μου, πως γίνεται τούντο πράμα. Τέλοσπάντων εν
 14. ήξέρω εν με πολλοβοήθησεν να σου πω την αλήθεια.
-
1. [= Georgiana: Em....to be honest , no. Whoever I met, I met them by myself
 2. basically. This is what I was saying on my- in my first year. Of course in my first
 3. year you were not here. But generally they didn't help me at all. For example the
 4. first they had the meeting I wasn't even informed; I came alone in London, I didn't
 5. know anyone and I wasn't informed that there was a meeting in Nicosia before
 6. we came here. I wasn't even informed that there was this thing. Anyway, on my
 7. second year when I went I tried to speak to some people because I din't want them
 8. to go through what I have been through when I came here by myself. But it
 9. doesn't really help, I don't know, it's just not right the way they do things. Even in
 10. the pre-departure meeting they go there and they form cliques, how can that be?
 11. Anyway, I don't know; it didn't really help me truth be told.]

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

In the above extract, Georgiana is critical of the Society's organizing, in that some members are left out. In addition to that, she is also critical of the members who even from the first meeting tend to form cliques. In order to support her claim, Georgiana makes reference to her first year, which was the first year (2006) the Society was re-activated and draws on her experience as an old-timer in terms of membership. Notably, Georgiana's dismissal of the Society as a source which members can draw upon to create links with other Cypriots is the only occurrence in the interviews. All the other members attributed a positive value on the Society as a facilitating factor in creating connections. Indicative extracts are the ones below:

Extract 6.21

Question: ‘Has the fact that you are member of the Society allowed you to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?’

Participant: RES2: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society’s 2008/09 PR and Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President.

1. Βασικά όλα τα άτομα που εεε όλοι οι φίλοι που έχω κάνει και όλα τα άτομα
2. που κοινωνικοποιούμαι μέχρι και σήμερα τα γνώρισα μέσω του ομίλου.

1. [*=Basically, all the people that e- all the friends I have and all the people I*
2. *socialize with to this day, I have met through the Society.*]

(Dataset B, 06/04/09, Interview C)

Extract 6.22

Question: ‘Has the fact that you are member of the Society allowed you to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?’

Participant: RES7: Jennie, 19 year old female, Society member

1. Ναι νομίζω από εκεί άρχισε η όλη μου σχέση με τους Κύπριους εδώ, τσαι
2. γνωρίζεις περισσότερους οι οποίοι ξέρουν ακόμα τσαι άλλα άτομα γνωρίζεις
3. τσαι άλλους μέσα που τσιείνους, νομίζω βοηθά πολλά.

1. [*= Yes, I think that’s when my relationship with Cypriots started here; you meet*
2. *more people that know even more people and so you meet other people*
3. *through them; I think it helps a lot.*]

(Dataset B, 01/05/09, Interview E)

Extract 6.23

Question: ‘Has the fact that you are member of the Society allowed you to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?’

Participant: RES12: Angela, 21 year old female, Society member

1. Yeah, definitely. It opened like a whole sort of other a:m you know a- a
2. group of people for me, because before that I just knew a couple of people on
3. my course. So, and then you go to the Society and there’s lots more, it’s quite
4. nice actually because you know you can talk to people and then you can see
5. them when you go back home so when you come here you don’t feel so
6. alone.

(Dataset B, 26/09/10, Interview L)

The answers presented above, depict a general sense of positive value attributed to the Society. While in Georgiana’s answer there is pre-occupation with the ‘pre-departure meeting’, the way things function in the Society (‘έννεν σωστά έτσι που τα κάμνουνσιν’, ‘it’s just not right the way the do things’, line 9 in the translation) and the

fact that cliques are created on the first meeting the Society organizes, in all the above answers (extracts 6.21, 6.22, 6.23) the theme of ‘social relationships’ and acquaintances is given prominence. The Society’s assumed malpractice appears to be the source of Georgiana’s inability to create links and connections with other members.

It is noteworthy to mention that despite the fact that in extracts 6.21, 6.22 and 6.23 their sense of affiliation with the Society runs along the same line, Adrianne, Jennie and Angela hold different positions in the Society. In detail, Adrianne (at the time of the interview) is the Society’s Events- Public Relations Officer, Jennie is a member with partial participation and Angela is a peripheral member (See Section 7.3 for a discussion on ‘Charlies’ amongst which Angela). Despite holding differing positions vis-à-vis the Society all three members hold that their membership in the Society has been a beneficial factor in creating bonds. The disapproval of particular Society actions appears to be causing Georgiana’s non-participation and non-identification with the Society or its members, as is evident below:

Extract 6.24

Question: ‘Ποια είναι η άποψη σου για τις εκδηλώσεις που διοργανώνει ο όμιλος;’ (What is your opinion about the events organized by the Society?)

Participant: RES7: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member

1. Georgiana: Μερικές φορές φαίνονται μου ανοργάνωτες λίο, αλλά φαντάζομαι
2. έχουν τσαι έλλειψη χρόνου τα πλάσματα. Τσαι γενικώς σαν νε μεν
3. λαμβάνουν υπόψη τους ας πούμε τα ενδιαφέροντα όλων μας ας πούμε, απλώς
4. να ικανοποιηθούν κάποιων συγκεκριμένων ας πούμεν.
5. [...] Ντάξει είχα τζαι την δική εμπειρία πέρσι τζαι εν υπήρχε λόγος ας πούμε, γι’ αυτό
6. εν είμαι μέλος φέτος ας πούμε. Επή να βάλω αντιπρόεδρος τζαι ήρτεν τζαι είπεν
7. μου, εν ήμουν γραμμένη μέσ’ το Society λέει ντάξει; εγώ εν εθυμούμουν οτι εν ήμουν
8. γραμμένη μέσ’ το Society αλλά τα e-mails τζαι σαν- μέσ’ τες λίστες ήμουν υποτίθεται
9. τις δικές τους. Μετά έδωσα το γράμμα μου ξέρεις που γράφουμε ξέρω ‘γω τζαι ήταν
10. να βάλουμε εκλογές.. ήμουν μόνο εγώ ανθυποψηφια στο πόστο του αντιπροέδρου.
11. [...] Τέλοσπάντων έκαμεν οτι ήθελεν τελοςπάντων, έβαλα εγώ υποψηφιότητα τζαι
12. είπεν οτι- ήρτεν θκυό μέρες πριν τες εκλογές που ήταν να γίνουν οτι υποτίθεται επήεν
13. στο συμβούλιο, στον άνθρωπο τζιαμέ στο HEI τζαι είπεν του οτι εν ήμουν γραμμένη
14. τελικά μέσα αλλά οι εκλογές εν είχαν γίνει ακόμα. Εν τζαι γίναν μετά οι εκλογές
15. [...] Εμπορούσα τζαι είχα το χρόνο να γραφτώ στο κάτω κάτω αλλά εν εδέχτεουν έτσι
16. πράμα. Λέει που την στιγμή που αποφασίσαμεν να κάμουμεν εκλογές τζαι εν είσαι
17. γραμμένη – εν είχαν γίνει λέω σου οι εκλογές, ούτε επέρασαν, ήταν θκυό μέρες τρείς
18. μέρες πριν τις εκλογές που υποτίθεται είπαμεν ήταν να κάμουμεν εκλογές – τζαι εν
19. εδικαιούμουν να γραφτώ υποτίθεται τζαι εμπήκεν άλλος χωρίς ανθυποψηφιο ας
20. πούμε. Τζαι εν τω μεταξύ στο κάτω κάτω εγω ενόμιζα οτι ήμουν γραμμένη εν ήταν
21. δική του υποχρέωση να δεί αν ήμουν γραμμένη ή οϊ; Δηλαδή αν δεν είναι
22. υποχρέωση του προέδρου ποιού εν υποχρέωση να τα δει ας πούμε;

1. *[= Sometimes they seem a bit disorganized, but I imagine they lack the time.*
2. *And generally it is as if they don't take into consideration lets say the things that*
3. *are of interest to all of us; they only satisfy those of specific*
4. *people lets say.*
5. *[...] I had a personal experience last year and I thought that there was no need, that*
6. *is why I am not a registered member this year. I went to run for Vice-President and*
7. *he came and said that I wasn't registered in the Society, right? I didn't remember*
8. *whether I was registered or not but I did receive the e-mails and I was in their*
9. *mailing lists. I submitted my letter, you know the one we give for the elections...I was*
10. *the only person in addition to another candidate running for the position of Vice*
11. *President. [...] Anyway he did what he wanted and I submitted my candidature and*
12. *he came two days before the elections to tell me that he went to the committee, the*
13. *man at HEI and he told him that I wasn't registered after all; note that the elections*
14. *were not yet conducted. It wasn't after the elections that this happened. I could have*
15. *and I had time to register at the end of the story but he would not accept such thing.*
16. *He said that from the moment it was decided that elections will be conducted and I*
17. *wasn't registered – note that the elections didn't take place, it was two three days*
18. *prior to the day of elections – I wasn't allowed to register and so the other person*
19. *running for Vice-President was elected. By the way I thought I was registered; don't*
20. *you think it was his duty to tell me if I was registered or not? I mean if it is not the*
21. *Chair's duty then whose is it?]*

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

Georgiana feels that she is being placed on the periphery by not being contacted for the first meeting (extract 6.20) and by not being 'represented' in the Society's practices (extract 6.24); issues she thinks the Society is responsible for²⁸. On the other hand she places herself on the margins by criticizing the Society and the way its practices are organized, and in extent distancing herself from it. As she states, Georgiana has made efforts to claim more central positions in the Society but however was not allowed access to the Society's committee due to the fact that when the elections were announced and up to two days prior to the elections Georgiana was not a registered member of the Society.

Georgiana expresses a dislike towards Alexandros as according to her views is the one responsible for 'banning' her and not granting her with legitimacy to claim a central position and part in the negotiation of the Society's practices. Notably, and in accordance with his position, the Chair as the Society's representative was the one who informed a prospective Committee member of her inability to claim a committee position. Her distress here appears to not be associated with the actual Society but with a specific individual. Surely if any other individual was in a disagreement with

²⁸ To the researcher's knowledge the Society is not the body who circulates e-mails to new members. The e-mails are sent by the International Marketing Office, on behalf of the Society.

Georgiana it is unlikely that she would have chosen to distance herself from the Society. The very fact that Alexandros is the Chair of the Society and top of the hierarchy, the one with the power to legitimate her and apparently does not is what pushes her towards a dislike of the Society.

Being unable to contribute to the negotiation of Society practices and meanings she chooses the periphery by purposefully not registering with the Society. Despite the fact that Georgiana is not registered in the Society she is a long-lasting member of the Society which maintains a peripheral positions; that very maintenance of that position (through the blockage posed to her when running for a central position) has become so integrated in her experience of practice that it closes her future participation (Wenger, 1998:166). In other words, non-participation and distancing for Georgiana is a strategy which gives her the power to view her identity outside the Society. While she engages in some of the Society's practices she does not hold tight friendship bonds with any other member. Her experience of non-participation is reproduced in her relations with other members.

Her statements during an interview question about whether her participation allowed her to form any close relations and whether she socializes with people from within or outside the Society, are indicative of the ways in which she positions the Society and herself within it.

Extract 6.25 (Interview with Georgiana, 20/05/09)

Question: 'Has your membership in the Society allowed you to form close friendships with other members of the Society?'

Participant: RES7: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member

1. Georgiana: Εν ηξέρω αν θεωρείς τώρα ότι...εν μπορώ να θεωρήσω τώρα
2. ότι εν που το- που **τα events τους** που τα δικά τους που έχω στενές φιλίες
3. όμως [...] αλλά ντάξει σίγουρα έβλεπα τους ας πούμεν τους φίλους μου ας
4. πούμεν τσαι σε τσιείνα τα events, ως ένα σήμείο ίσως ας πούμεν
5. σίγουρα...
6. [= Georgiana: Now, I don't know if you think that...I can't support that it's from-
7. from their own events that I have created close friendships, although [...] but
8. okay, I definately saw my friends in those very events; to some degree definitely
9. yes.]

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

Extract 6.26

Question: Do you mainly socialize with people that are members of the Society or with people outside the Society?

Participant: RES7: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member

1. Georgiana: Καλάν εκτος!

1. [= Georgiana: Definitely, outside!]

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

It is implied here that the people she socializes with might attend the events but are not regular or even non- members of the Society. Even though she attends the Society's meetings, she does not seem to have formed any kinds of close relations with people in the Society. More precisely, the use of the possessive in third person plural (highlighted) when referring to Society events such as 'τα events τους που τα δικά τους' alludes to the fact that she is not part of 'them', and in extent distances herself primarily from 'them' (the people forming the Society) and in extent the Society as a unit. Apparently Georgiana can be described as a peripheral member; despite having access to the Society's practices she does not consider herself to have any kind of connection with the rest of the members (evident in the naming of close contacts in the Sociogram, section 5.1). However, it must be noted that there are no fixed positions that a person occupies in the Society. It is more of a case that peripherality describing Georgiana, rather "suggests that there are multiple, varied, more or less-engaged and -inclusive ways of being located in the fields of participation defined by a community" (Lave and Wenger, 1991:35-36). Participant observation showed that Society members can engage at some degree in practice while being in the periphery. Indicative cases are that of Julius and Jennie. Julius and Jennie have named each other as people in their close-knit groups (See Section 5.1). The two individuals study together and see each other very often. Based on participant observation, the two individuals do not regularly attend events organized by the Society, and their socializing groups are mainly non-members of the Society. They steer their trajectory towards partial participation by engaging in the Society's practices but nonetheless remaining distant in terms of contact with other members of the Society. Georgiana engages in the Society's practices which she often finds unsuitable and unstructured, while at the same time she disengages from social relationships within the group. Georgiana's less-engaged and less-inclusive form of

participation appears to be the result of her choice, of her disapproval of the Society. Her attendance to the Society's events could be an issue of practices becoming – regardless of her membership identity - significant for and contributing to her own identity as she states in an answer when asked about whether she attends culturally related events:

Extract 6.27

Question: A large number of events take names such as 'Greek party' or are related to the Cypriot culture such as 'Vasilopita Cutting' or 'Green Monday'. What's your opinion about this kind of events?

Participant: RES7: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member

1. Georgiana: Κοίτα να σου πώ την αλήθεια έκοψα το τωρά τελευταία. Για
2. αυτό που ίσως –ίσως τσαι πηγαίνω – ίσως για αυτόν τον λόγο πηγαίνω
3. τώρα στο...στις εκδηλώσεις που κάμνει το Greek Society γιατί ντάξει εν
4. οι μόνες φορές που είμαι μαζί με Κυπραίους, παλιά επήνενα τσαι σε
5. Greek parties αλλά τωρά εσταμάτησα το.

1. [= Georgiana: Truth be told I don't really go (to Greek parties) lately. That is
2. why- maybe that is why I go- maybe that is why I now got to-...to the events
3. organised by the Greek Society, because really, those are the only times I am
4. with Cypriots; I used to go to Greek parties but I have stopped going now.]

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

Importantly, Georgiana's position as a peripheral member is further evident in her use of Facebook. After careful checks throughout the data set, Georgiana did not seem to have any sort of interactions with the members of the Society. An interaction documented was one with the researcher. Both the researcher and Georgiana are the only two people in the Society that come from Paphos and apparently this fact seems to be the main basis for the affiliation displayed in the thread (See Appendix E5 for the full thread) as can be seen in the subsequent analysis. According to posting frequency the thread may be divided into seven smaller threads:

1st thread: 28th June-2nd July 2009

2nd thread: 6th August-9th August 2008

3rd thread: 13th August-14th August 2008

4th thread: 10th September- 11th September 2008

5th thread: 22nd September- 23rd September 2008

6th thread: 9th December 2008

7th thread: 18th March- 20th March 2009

The time lag between the posts is an important aspect in the construction of discourse as, with regards to the effects of the medium (asynchronicity), time is what defines how participants establish communication. In particular, openings such as ‘hey’ are very frequent in establishing a channel of communication (posts 1, 15 and 8, Appendix E5). The use of ‘ela’ which literary means ‘come’ in standard Greek, is used in the first instance to indicate that the interlocutor is still engaged in a continued conversational topic and time of discussion, as the time lag of posting is minimal (Post 6 in July the 2nd follows post 5 with a delay of 56 minutes) (Goutsos, 2005:12, Georgakopoulou, 1997:146). In posts 21 and 22 channel checks that are usually employed in walkie talkie communication are employed by both participants as way of joking. Valentina and Georgiana use ‘ela’ as a channel check mechanism in maintaining awareness in interaction, recognition and maintain a sense of co-presence and not due to any break in discourse, since the discourse structure of Facebook Wall threads does not allow for real-time feedback (cf. Goutsos, 2000:14, Cherny, 1999:198).

Terms of address exchanged between the two participants are all occurrences of code-switching. Words such as ‘honey’ (post 1, 2 and 14), ‘sweety’ (post 12), ‘babes’ (post 15), ‘baby’ (post 17), as well as ‘georgianaki’ (a diminutive) (posts 8 and 11) all function as intimacy markers giving away an indication of the kind of relationship between the two (cf. Goutsos, 2000:17 and Sifianou, 2000:69-70). An interesting inter-sentential and intra-sentential switch appears in post 7, when Georgiana initiates another (unrelated to the previous post) thread. The post is triggered by Valentina’s status update ‘To xw, to xw...’ (unfortunately not documented in the data). In post 7 Georgiana comments on Valentina’s status and switches to English to provide a justification for her comment ‘eimaste from london emeis....we are the tough ones girl...!!!:P’. It can be assumed that the switch indicates affiliative bonds between the two in terms of their living and studying in London. In post 18 we have a post with birthday wishes by Valentina, which however does not receive a reply. With a three month time interval Valentina opens the channel of communication by making a comment in one of Georgiana’s photos and by also making requests in a humorous manner. She is requesting Georgiana to expand her activity in Facebook to

interaction rather than merely commenting on photos and status updates, as a way of indicating that they have not talked for a long time! In post 19 Georgiana asks whether anyone can hear her wonder whether to do a dissertation or not. This post can be said to be a justification for not communicating.

Finally, in the last post Georgiana teases Valentina that when someone is famous people will gossip. Interestingly, the last 3 threads indicate to some sort of contact both females have with third party individuals, members of the Society. More specifically, Georgiana was informed by John, who at the time was living in the same halls with her, that Valentina (identified member of his close-knit group) would be attending the event. It is important to note, that throughout the whole thread the topics for discussion are somehow different from that found in other extracts. The two participants engage in discussions which mainly concern news, happenings, updates with regards to Paphos and study issues. There seems to be a sense of affiliative bond the two females, which in offline interactions does not occur. The two girls rarely exchange messages or telephone calls and have only once arranged to meet throughout knowing each other. It appears that within their interaction, the two girls draw on background information about their place of origin and orient to their Paphian and female identities rather than those of 'Society members'. Such orientations are what allow for the affiliation displayed in the thread, with that of membership in the Society being more peripheral.

As follows, the way Georgiana steers her trajectory has an effect to her communication with other members as well as the kinds of issues she negotiates within that communication. At this point, it is safe to say that having strong ties with other members of the Society becomes the channel through which one can become a member fully participating and engaging in practices. Individuals such as Georgiana, who lack interest in developing relations of mutual engagement with other members, are apparently placing themselves and are being placed in the periphery; members in the periphery are then likely to develop peripheral engagement, 'peripheral' social links and 'peripheral' communication. Georgiana, as a member holding peripheral membership position, refrains from participating in practices frequently as she purposefully avoids being associated with central members of the Society that generally assume functional roles within the community. By not being 'allowed' access to the Society's committee, Georgiana feels that she is unable to contribute to the negotiation of Society practices and meanings and therefore chooses the periphery

as it provides her with the power to decide in and of herself in what it is that she will be engaging.

In sum, relations of mutual engagement seem to affect the kinds of relationships that can be developed among the Society members while at the same time influence the construction of membership identities.

6.5 Conclusion

The maintenance of the Cypriot Society is an outcome of members' mutual engagement in a jointly negotiated enterprise. Such mutual engagement has been shown to not only trigger practices for the achievement of a goal but also to have an impact on the construction of membership identities related to the degree of engagement in practice. It was also shown that members make relevant selves that reflect their participation roles which emanate from degrees of engagement in practice.

The present chapter has highlighted the importance of mutual engagement in identity construction and degrees of participation. An overarching finding is that: mutual engagement in a jointly negotiated enterprise becomes important in calling upon particular positions and identities that emerge from forms of membership.

In the case studies presented in section 6.1 it was found that the forms of participation claimed by John and Chrissie stem from various degrees of engagement and depend on the trajectories each one of them takes on. Newcomers such as the individuals presented in the case studies coordinate their energy in order to fit in the structure of the Society and contribute to its practices. Aligning oneself with the Society's practices becomes "the condition for the possibility of socially organized action" (Wenger, 1998:180).

With regards to positions of power within the Society the analysis in section 6.2 indicates that the construction of identities can be achieved through the employment of various resources, and through the ways in which at that particular moment of interaction an individual chooses to identify with relations of association or differentiation. Committee members' use of person references, intragroup and intergroup positioning (exclusive and inclusive 'we'), imperatives and articulation role-dependent activities as social acts of identity, are employed in members' status moves in interaction. The use of such linguistic resources, allow members to display

their orientation towards their Society related positions and construct 'legitimated' membership identities. An important finding in section 6.2.1 and contrary to Wenger's take on brokers (see section 8.1 for a discussion), it was found that brokering work can be done or even facilitated by members occupying central positions due to the fact that a position in the Society's committee grants those members legitimacy and power to introduce and develop new practices originating from other communities.

Issues of legitimacy to claim are affected in the same manner by forms of participation as particular membership participation is shaped by such. Section 6.3 brought to the fore issues of control over negotiation of Society related positions as well as issues of legitimacy. It was found that members' transition from one position to another within the Society or from one trajectory to another (both within and outside the Society) shapes forms of participation as well as the legitimacy to negotiate what is at stake. Experience and prior history as part of the affinity and allegiance felt for the community results in placing the self in a position with membership rights and legitimated claims.

Nonetheless, membership in the Society can be an aspect of the self which is not always oriented to, even when interacting with other members of the Society. The case of peripheral membership in section 6.4 indicates that the lesser the degree to which one identifies with the Society and membership in such, the more likely it is that relations of mutual engagement with other Society members will be constrained. Georgiana's less-engaged and less-inclusive forms of participation affect the development of her membership identity, relations and communication with other members. Considering the fact that Georgiana participates but nevertheless does not identify with, it is safe to say that in dealing with her peripheral membership she projects an identity of non-participation that is the basis of her identity as a member of this Society. The dynamics between the construction of identity and forms of participation as social action are critical to the ways in which individuals internalize, challenge or reject the existing practices of the community they belong (Handley et al., 2006:644).

The present chapter has dealt with relations of mutual engagement and the ways in which these affect forms of participation and construction of membership identities. In the process of mutual engagement, members develop a shared repertoire (see section 2.4) which enables them to negotiate the meaning of their joint enterprise.

The issue of language has been shown to play an important part in members' engagement in the Society's jointly negotiated enterprise, not only as a resource but also as an element defining the domain and the Society's *raison d'être*. The following chapter deals with the ways in which ethnic identity shapes the Society's practices and defines membership.

CHAPTER 7:

JOINT ENTERPRISE: GREEK-CYPRITOT IDENTITY AS AN ELEMENT SHAPING PRACTICES AND MEMBERSHIP

7. Introduction

The focus on relations of mutual engagement in Chapter 6 showed that membership in the Society is intimately linked with particular roles and identities. The Society's practices as well as the language used in Society formal and informal businesses reflected the Society's official identity (see chapter 4). The fact that practices largely focus on culturally related events (including events related to tradition, religion and history), as well as the fact the language used in Society business and relations is predominantly Cypriot Greek, indicate that the issue of ethnicity has a vital role to play in the definition of the Society.

The issue of ethnic identity was formerly dealt with in this thesis in the analysis of the Society's key structural features (chapter 4). It was found that ethnic identity defines members' mutual engagement in practice. The issue of identity analysed in the present chapter deals with the ways in which the Society's ethnically related character shapes language use, practices, relations and membership in the Society. More specifically, the research questions guiding the analysis are:

- a) In what ways does language choice shape group identity? and
- b) How are linguistic resources used to construct ethnically based categorizations and in what ways are these categorizations shaped by membership and participation?

Data incorporated for the investigation of the aforementioned issues involve face-to-face recordings, Facebook threads, Society emails and interviews. Face-to-face recordings and Facebook threads are believed to be vital in providing information on how it may be that interactions are related to larger identities such as ethnicity. The interactional analysis of such was also informed by MCA elements in looking into ethnically based categorizations (see section 2.2 on MCA). Society emails in this chapter were quantitatively analysed on the basis of language choice in order to examine the possible links between language use and identity construction.

Communities of Practice as the main theoretical framework in this work, provides crucial insights in the investigation of ethnicity as a capital D-discourse characterizing

the Society (see section 2.4), through the emphasis on social practices and members' mutual engagement. Choice of particular practices, engagement in practices and value attributed to such by members, reflects the ways in which members make relevant Discourses (such as ethnic identity) in their ways of doing things and ways of being in the world. However, my reference to ethnic identity here does not take the notion to be an "automatic labelling of a primordial characteristic" (Hansen, 2005:64). Ethnicity can be described as a complex social phenomenon; it is "discursively constituted and situationally contingent" (Harris and Rampton, 2009:99). Ethnicity is not an identity fixed onto each one of us but is rather constructed locally according to situations and interactants; it can occur at the level of practices, symbols, ways of acting and at the level of language use through labelling processes. Clearly, labels and associated referents are usually employed to identify oneself as well as to evoke the other in social interaction (Hansen, 2005:65). "Yet because speakers ordinarily avoid using ethnic labels in social interaction ethnicity emerges in interaction through other means. Locating ethnicity in interaction thus entails identifying the local, interactional devices in, by and through which ethnicity is made relevant for participants in social interaction" (Hansen, 2005:65).

Considering that ethnicity occurs at the level of language use, the focus in this chapter is placed on language resources (i.e. language choice, membership categorization devices and regionally marked language) that members of the Society call up in constructing group and membership identities. The ethnically based character of the Society was accounted for, at both levels of communication – official and unofficial – as well as all types of communication – online and offline. To be more precise, language choice in Society originated e-mails – the Society's main official communication tool - can become a resource mobilized by the Society's officials (committee members) in promoting a particular group identity. Expanding the analysis from formal to informal Society businesses, members' utilization of inferencing, ethnically based categorization devices and stylization of regional dialect features, reflect some of the resources which the members utilize to construct membership identities, either those be based on regional or ethnic differences and/or identifications.

7.1 Language choice in group identity construction.

As previously mentioned (Chapter 6) mutual engagement involves members of a community engaging in actions whose meaning shapes their membership and experience of self. Practice as an intrinsic part of any Community of Practice defines the degrees of participation and engagement in the extent to which practices correspond to members' needs and interests. Having in mind that the Society's self-definition is 'HEI Cypriot Society' it is only logical that there will be significant pre-occupation with the 'Cypriot' aspect evident in the naming of the Society. Additionally, the naming of the Society indexes the audience targeted through the explicit categorization of the Society as a 'Cypriot' one (Androutsopoulos, 2006). Indeed, the target audience of the Society is explicitly designated in the following extract in which a committee member referred to the Society's members as being Cypriot students.

Extract 7.1

Question: 'When you said that you talk with other Universities, do you mean that you have connections with other Universities?'

Participant: RES4: John, 21 year old male, Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director and 2009/10 Events/Sports Officer

1. Επειδή σκοπός του society εν εν μόνο να προωθήσει, σκοπός του Cypriot
 2. Society είναι να προωθήσει την φοιτητική ζωή τσiai να προ- τσiai να
 3. προσφέρει στους φοιτητές του, δηλαδή στους Κύπριους φοιτητές, επειδή
 4. εν Cypriot society μιαν καλή φοιτητική εμπειρία.
-
1. [*= Yes, because the Society's goal is not only to promote,*
 2. *the Society's goal is to promote the student living and off- and offer to his*
 3. *students , that is to the Cypriot students, because it's a Cypriot Society, a*
 4. *good student experience.*]

(Dataset B, 01/03/09, Interview A)

In extract 7.1, John (Freshers Director in the Society's Committee) specifies what the Society's target audience and goals are by making reference to Cypriot students. He justifies his reference to merely Cypriot students (line 3, 'στους φοιτητές του, δηλαδή στους Κύπριους φοιτητές') by specifying that the Society is not any kind of Society but a Cypriot Society and therefore the people being involved and the people being interested in membership would be Cypriots. In a similar vein, another Committee member, Eliza, - when asked to share her opinion about the culturally

related events organized by the Society - associates the organization of culturally related events with the Society's goals.

Extract 7.2

Question: Ένας μεγάλος αριθμός των εκδηλώσεων παίρνουν ονομασίες όπως 'Greek Party' ή έχουν άμεση σχέση με την Κυπριακή παράδοση όπως το 'Κόψιμο της Βασιλόπιτας' ή Καθαρά Δευτέρα. Η άποψη σου για αυτού του είδους τις εκδηλώσεις; (A large number of events take names such as 'Greek party' or are related to the Cypriot culture such as 'Vasilopita Cutting' or 'Green Monday'. What's your opinion about this kind of events?)

Participant: RES6: Eliza, 20 year old female, Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/09 Treasurer

1. [...]τζαι για μένα ήταν που τες πιο καλές εκδηλώσεις που εκάμαμεν, η
2. Καθαρά Δευτέρα, το ίδιο τζαι το Κόψιμο της Βασιλόπιτας, επειδή εν μέρος
3. της παράδοσης μας τζαι εν κάτι που θέλουμε να συνεχίσουμε, τζαι αν το
4. δείς οι περισσότεροι Κύπριοι φοιτητές εν να 'ρτουν σε τούτα επεδή εν
5. πράματα που τους λείπουν που σπίντν τους [...] τζαι θωρείς ότι θέλουν το
6. τζαι οι ίδιοι τζαι περνούν καλά, εννοώ εν να μαζετούμε εν να παίζουμε τα
7. παιχνίδια μας, εν να μιλήσουμε, εν να θυμηθούμε κάποια έθιμα, πράματα
8. που εν να γινούν στην Κύπρο, τζαι εν κάτι που το ζητούν, τζαι πστεύκω
9. ότι εν που τα events που εν που τα πιο καλά γιατί ετσι διατηρείς τζαι
10. κατ- τους στόχους του Society στο κάτω κάτω.

1. [= [...]]for me they were some of the best events we have organised, Green Monday
2. and the same with Vasilopitta cutting; because they are part of our tradition, and it
3. is something that we want continue doing. If you think about it most Cypriots that
4. will come in these events it is those people who miss things as they are away bfrom
5. home [...] and one can see that they want to do these things, they have fun; I mean
6. gathering around and playing games, talking, remembering some of our customs
7. and things that will be happening in Cyprus is something that they seek. I think that
8. these are some of the best of events because in this way you preserve the Society's
9. goals at the end of the story.]

(Dataset B, 09/05/09, Interview F)

What is brought into focus in this statement is the theme of tradition and customs and their relation to members' participation and practices oriented to goal achievement. More precisely, not only is a certain focus placed on the Cypriot tradition and customs – aspects of one's ethnic identity – but also on the value attributed to particular experiences in terms of participation in the Society's practices. In Eliza's response, Society practices respond to and are shaped by larger social and cultural Discourses through which the members of the Society are identified. On the whole, membership and participation in the Society is driven by the Society's naming ('Cypriot Society') in that prospective or existing members draw links between who they are ('Κύπριοι'= Cypriots) and what the Society represents or has to offer. Similarly, within the

Society, there seems to be some sort of recognition of the members' ethnic identity and demands related to such as the mandate, on the basis of which practices evolve. In this line of reasoning, practices – as an indicator of the Society's character – on many occasions involve Society events related to the Cypriot tradition, history, culture and religion.

As shown in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.1, Figure 12) in the topic-based email classification, Society practices mainly develop and revolve around culturally/ethnically related events. It is noteworthy to mention that e-mails concerning culturally/ethnically related events are very close in percentage with e-mails concerning other events organized by the Society (e.g. sports, charities, musicals etc). This frequency can be justified by the fact that a) the Society is a Cypriot Society and hence the preoccupation with culturally related issues and b) the Society's target audience are not people who generally come from Cyprus, but people who are Cypriot students of the HEI university. In other words, the e-mail topic categorization is a reflection of what practices count as worthwhile in satisfying members' needs based on their perceived Cypriot and student identities. Through the e-mail patterns analysis in Chapter 4, it has been found that the Society circulated e-mails are characterized by formal terms of address, formal style of writing and frequent employment of speech acts (Section 4.3). In terms of language use it was found that in most cases subject headings of e-mails were in English with the exception of a number of culturally related emails whose subject heading was written in Greek.

A closer analysis of the e-mails is needed when looking at the ways in which the Society might project its group identity. For these purposes, the 147 e-mails collected from 2007-2010 were categorized on the basis of language use in the e-mail main text. As previously stated (Section 3.2.2) Standard Modern Greek, Cypriot Greek (dialect) and English comprise the Society's linguistic repertoire. The percentages below (Figure 18) indicate to preference for particular language choice in e-mails.

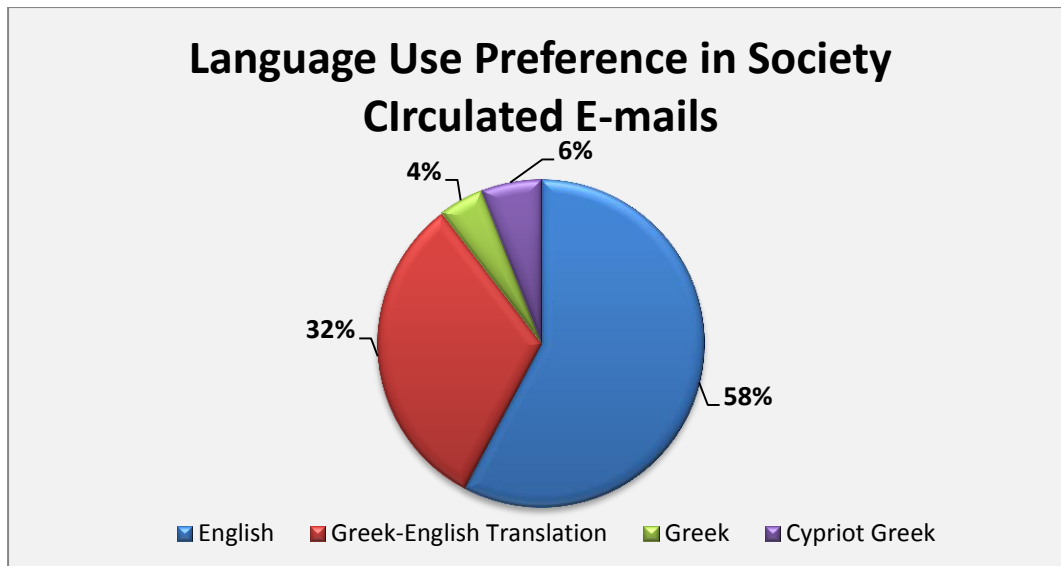


Figure 18
Overall language choice distribution in 147 e-mails

It appears that the highest in frequency language choice for Society circulated e-mails is that of English use (58%), followed by use of Greek with an English translation (32%), the use of Cypriot Greek (6%)²⁹ and Greek (4%). Considering the importance that the participants have attributed to their native language it is surprising to see that English language use prevails all. However, looking more closely at the circulated e-mails reveals that, among the 147 e-mails collected a total number of 45 e-mails involved forwarded messages from other parties and were not directly connected to Society businesses. A prevalent characteristic in the 45 forwarded messages is that the e-mails were forwarded with the following openings:

‘Dear fellow students,
FYI’³⁰.

The e-mails do not present any other textual additions by the Society. On the other hand the remaining 102 e-mails, which were Society originated and therefore the focus on such, presents a rather different tendency in terms of language choices in relation to the overall number of e-mails circulated. To be more precise, out of the 102 Society originated e-mails, 41% appear in English, in contrast to the 58% of the overall emails (See Figure 19); e-mails in Greek with a subsequent English translation

²⁹ E-mails which were written in Cypriot Greek (5 in total) were only sent to members participating in the 2008 Society’s trip to Barcelona and therefore not all Society members received these e-mails.

³⁰ FYI is an abbreviation usually used in CMC and stands for ‘For your information’.

are now increased from 32% to 44%; and finally e-mails in Greek and e-mails in Cypriot Greek note a slight increase from 4% to 7% and 6% to 8% respectively.

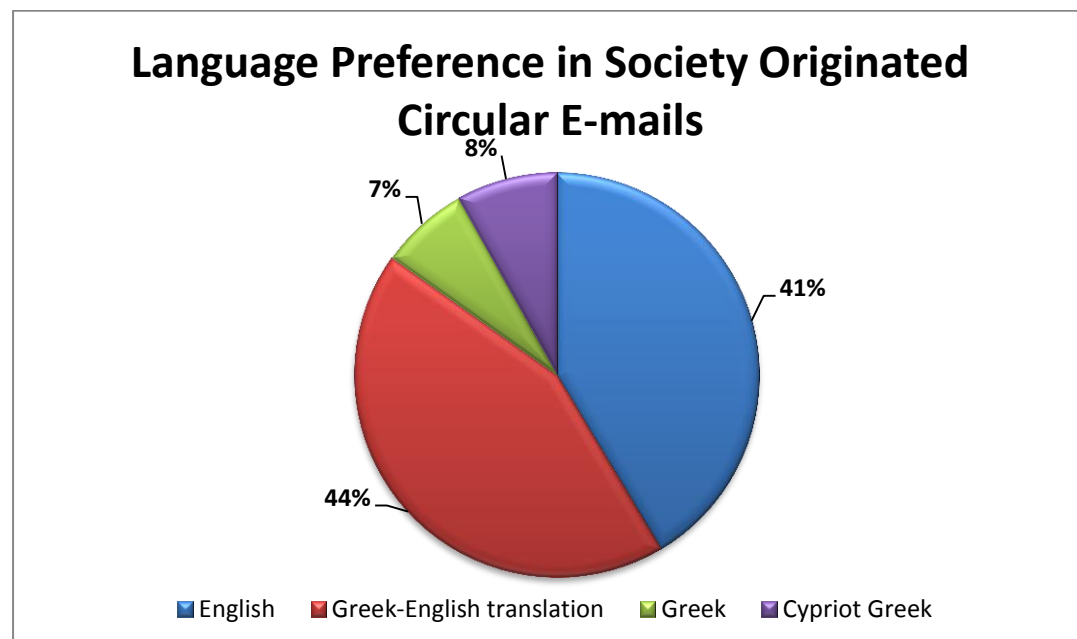


Figure 19
Language Choices in 102 Society originated circular e-mails

What emerges from the percentages in Figure 19 is that the sole use of English and use of Greek with subsequent English translation predominate in Society e-mails. To begin with, with regards to the use of English, the degree to which the members of the Society are exposed to the English language can be said to play a role towards the preference for English. For example it must be taken into consideration that all members – at least during term time – reside in London while studying in a higher education institute whose medium of instruction is English and therefore their exposure to the English language is high in frequency. Furthermore, the British colonial experience of Greek-Cypriots has placed English in the Cypriot social reality as an inherited language, evident in the judicial system, health system and administration (cf. Karoulla-Vriki, 2004). English is also taken to be a *de facto lingua franca* in Cyprus and as follows preference for English is not surprising (Mavratsas, 1999:98-99). Finally, the use of English can also be connected to brevity and ease of writing due to the fact that a) English language is a set language in most computers, b) Inclusion of both a Greek and an English text is time consuming, c) the sole use of Greek would again require specific commands to the computer system and d) the use

of English is an all-inclusive language choice in that all Society members are fluent in English, but not all are fluent in Greek. A closer look at the e-mails seems to substantiate such claims, in that a large number of e-mails functioning as reminders to events and e-mails short in length appear in English. Event reminders are brief messages and in order to avoid any complicating factors (b and c mentioned above) as well as in order to achieve brevity the producers rely on the audience's knowledge of the English language.

The use of Greek with subsequent English translation in about 44% of the e-mails describes the most prevalent tendency regarding language choice. Interestingly, the use of both languages can be connected to various social factors. Primarily, the presence of both texts indicates recognition of the members' ethnic identity. That is, the inclusion of Greek and English in the e-mails shapes the Society's orientation towards the assumed identity of its members and in this manner ethnicity is indexed in terms of language choice as part of the community's repertoire of resources. The use of Greek reflects an orientation towards the Greek (and Cypriot Greek) speaking members whereas the use of English indicates an orientation towards the English speaking members of the Society, which in this case English members include both English-Cypriot members and any non-ethnic students interested in the Society. Similarly, Androutsopoulos in his study on diaspora websites suggests that edited content 'responds to assumed language preferences of the diasporic audience as much as to the wish to be accessible to interested non-ethnics' (Androutsopoulos, 2006:528). Whereas the inclusion of English orients to the English speaking members, there are no members but one, of any other ethnic backgrounds, but are rather English Cypriot members whose competence in Greek varies by the individual. Choices to include an English translation in the emails were inhibited by the presence of a non-ethnic but most importantly by the Society's openness to other non-ethnics. More specifically, the Society does not place any restrictions on the ethnic background and culture of any prospective members interested in registration to the Society.

In relation to e-mails involving the use of Greek and English an issue worthy of attention is the phenomenon of text omission in the English version of the text. The text extracts below are indicative. Text appearing in the Greek version of e-mails (sent on 17/4/2008 and 28/2/2009 respectively), is completely lacking in the English text.

Example 7.3

Description: E-mails circulated to Society members

a) 17/4/2008

Greek opening and closing: «...Άνοιξη μπαίνει μεσημέρι...»

Και ενώ μπαίνει, η εποχή δύσκολη για όλους. Διάβασμα και εξόδοι, εξετάσεις και καλοκαίρι, νηστεία και σπατάλη.....

Καλή Ανάσταση, HEI Cypriot Society Committee

English opening and closing: Dear Fellow Students,

As spring finally makes its appearance, this time of the year is particularly busy for all.

Best Wishes, HEI Cypriot Society Committee

b) 28/2/2009

Greek text: Αγαπητοί συμφοιτητές και συμφοιτήτριες,

'Μες τη Λεμεσό μας και πάλι μας ήρθε και φέτος ξανά, ωραίο, τρελό καρναβάλι γεμάτο κέφι και ομορφιά'

Ελπίζουμε να ξεφαντώσετε το Σαββατοκύριακο σε Καρναβαλίστικους ρυθμούς που αρμόζουν στα πλαίσια της εποχής και έπειτα να συνεχίσετε μαζί μας το βράδυ της Καθαράς Δευτέρας 2 Μαρτίου 2009.

English text: Dear Fellow Students,

We hope you have an enjoyable weekend in a carnival mood. However, do join us on Monday evening 2nd of March 2009 for a traditional Green Monday Evening.

(Dataset A, 17/04/08 and 28/02/09, E-mails 37 and 78)

Lyrics from a song performed by a well-known Greek rock singer, Vasilis Papacostantinou ('Spring enters at noon'), form the opening sentence of the first Greek version of the e-mail, which is completely omitted from the English version. The closing of the e-mail 'Καλή Ανάσταση' (meaning 'The Christ has risen') is replaced in the English version with 'Best wishes'. With regards to the opening of the e-mail, the use of a Greek song's lyrics, which is very popular among Cypriot youth, can be said to function here as an attempt to create a friendly and more intimate tone. This move is probably a way of relating to the Cypriot members. Its omission may be a decision grounded on the possible contradiction in translating the lyrics, as translation could disguise the meanings attributed in the original. In addition, within the first few lines the religious aspect of fasting before Easter - 'Διάβασμα και εξόδοι, εξετάσεις και καλοκαίρι, νηστεία και σπατάλη..' ('Reading and outings, exams and summer, fasting and expenditure..') - is made relevant in the Greek text, while there is

no reference to such in the English version. Beliefs, customs, religion and language are important elements of culture (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001:94) and therefore recognition of these aspects as part of a Cypriot person's identity results in the issues of fasting being made relevant in the e-mail. Again its omission from the English text indicates recognition that the English Cypriot members (as young people) may not necessarily be maintaining beliefs and religious customs as strongly or even at all. Furthermore, its omission from the English version can also be oriented to a non-ethnic reader. The English Cypriot members would be able to recognize 'Καλή Ανάσταση' in Roman alphabeted Greek (e.g. 'Kali Anastasi') and therefore its omission in the English version seems to be directed by some other parameter. The very fact that the Society is formed within an institution, among other Societies, seems to affect such text production. The Society has to maintain its status within the student Union by giving access to any student, both Cypriot and non-Cypriot, who is interested in registering as a member. Therefore, omissions such as these serve as ways of allowing access to non-ethnics and as ways of maintaining the relationship with the institution of which the Society is part of. On the same grounds, the phrase 'Καλή Ανάσταση' in the e-mail closing entails cultural and religious connotations, in that this is a phrase people exchange before Easter. This is not to be confused with 'Happy Easter' which in Greek is 'Καλό Πάσχα'. The phrase is replaced in the English version with 'Best wishes', which maintains a much less neutral tone as a type of wish, leaving out any religious connotations. The choice to replace 'Καλή Ανάσταση' with 'Best Wishes', serves as a means to avoid excluding members who may not aspire to the same religious practices such as fasting.

In the second e-mail (7.3b), the sentence 'Μεσ τη Λεμεσό μας και πάλι μας ήρθε και φέτος ξανά, ωραίο, τρελό καρναβάλι γεμάτο κέφι και ομορφιά' is entirely omitted in the English version. The sentence represents part of a song's lyrics frequently heard during Carnival time. The quotation in the Greek text is somehow paralleled with cultural familiarity; the Carnival, celebrated in Cyprus 50 days before Easter and more specifically a week before fasting begins, is connected with Limassol, which is quite often referred to as 'βασίλισσα του καρναβαλιού' (queen of the Carnival). The lyrics have become a slogan frequently heard in Limassol's famous parade (and therefore the reference to 'Λεμεσός'). In both cases of omission in the e-mails (7.3a and 7.3b), the prevalence of text in Greek can be related to cultural familiarity that members of the Society are assumed to be having. Overall, it appears that purposeful

orientation towards the Greek text reaches beyond the actual task of communicating information in the majority of the members' native language, to indexing some form of privileging particular identities within the Society; either that be Cypriot born and raised members or British Cypriots who on the one hand are fluent in Greek and on the other hand have a degree of cultural familiarity with the customs related to the Cypriot culture.

With regards to the sole use of Greek in e-mails the frequency percentage is extremely low (7%). At a first glance this finding appears to challenge what the participants have disclosed in the interviews with regards to the importance of language for membership (Section 7.2). The participants' reference to language described in the interviews collected was the Cypriot Greek dialect, while in the e-mails the language used is Standard Greek. The 8% reflecting the use of the Cypriot Greek dialect – however transliterated in roman alphabet characters – is not accounted for here, as these e-mails were sent from the Society's e-mail but originated from the Chair and were directed to only a specific group of people (people attending the 2007-2008 annual trip) and not to all Society members. The use of Standard Modern Greek in 7% of the e-mails - one of the official languages in Cyprus and the language taught in public schools and used for writing and formal oral purposes (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2009:188) – can be explained by the fact that asynchronous modes of communication such as e-mail support written modes of communication. Greek in this case is written with letters of the Greek alphabet and not with Roman alphabet characters enhancing in this way the formality of the text and the letter-type invitations (cf. Crystal, 2001). In detail, the production of the text is based on the producers' repertoires of schemata ("Representations of characteristic patterns of organization associated with different types of discourse" (Fairclough, 2001:120)) within their member resources allowing them to determine what uses of language are able to perform what goals (Fairclough, 2001:120). In other words normative assumptions with regard to the institutional business at hand drive the choice of Standard Modern Greek. Since the circulation of e-mails is the basic form of communication and representation of the Society to its members, the formality necessitated to legitimize the Society as an official community is achieved with the use of SMG which is both used in formal writings and is given greater status in such discourse types (e.g. information exchanges, advertising etc.).

Despite the small percentage of e-mails in Greek however, their production appears to be dictated by the content of those e-mails. From the overall 147 collected only 7 e-mails appear in Greek; these e-mails inform members about the organization of events related to historical events (e.g. Happenings of ‘Polytechnio’ and the Demonstration regarding the declaration of TRNC, See Appendix D12 and D13 respectively). A small extract from an e-mail regarding an invitation to attend to the Demonstration organized in London by the National Student Union of Cypriots, appears below.

Extract 7.4

Description: E-mail circulated to Society members

Subject: Αντικατοχική Εκδήλωση 15ης Νοεμβρίου ενάντια στην ανακήρυξη του
ψευδοκράτους

From: HEI Cypriot Society

Sent: Friday, November 13, 2009 1:13:22 PM

1. '[...]' To HEI Cypriot Society καλεί τα μέλη του να δώσουν το παρόν τους στην
2. αντικατοχική αυτή εκδήλωση στηρίζοντας και συμμετέχοντας στο οργανωμένο
3. φοιτητικό σύνολο. Ως νέοι φοιτητές, οφείλουμε να εκφράσουμε δυναμικά και
4. καθολικά την έντονη δυσαρέσκειά μας ενάντια στην άδικη και παράνομη,
5. μονομερή αυτοανακήρυξη του ψευδοκράτους ως «Τουρκική Δημοκρατία της
6. Βόρειας Κύπρου» στις 15 Νοεμβρίου 1983
7. [...]³¹,

1. [= [...]] *The HEI Cypriot Society invites its members to attend the Demonstration*
2. *against TRNC event in order to support and participate in this organized*
3. *student effort. As young students, we ought to strongly and wholly express our*
4. *strong disapproval against the unjust and illegal, one-sided self-declaration of the*
5. *pseudo-state as “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” on the 15th of November*
6. *1983*
7. [...]]

(Dataset A, 13/11/09, E-mail 102)

The subject heading of this e-mail is one of the few cases in which Greek language is not written through the use of Greeklish but through the use of the Greek alphabet. The focus here however is not only on when this happens but rather on what it does in this particular situation in which the main text is also (and solely) in Greek. I assume that the use of a formal clause structure Greek- alphabeted message in the heading – appears to explicitly establish the topic of what it is about to be communicated (Kendon, 1999:368). This is evident when compared to other e-mails in which

³¹ The symbol [...] indicates to omitted text. For the full version of the e-mail see Appendix D13.

message headings also appear in Greek (e.g. ‘Ευχές Πάσχα’ meaning Easter Wishes) whose content however (contrary to the e-mail presented in extract 7.4) introduces various topics other than the one advertised on the headings (e.g. ‘Ευχές Πάσχα’ includes the topic of ‘Committee Elections’ and ‘Student Exams’). The missing prepositions, are assumed to be allowing space for the introduction of new topics in the email content as ‘Ευχές’ for example might also refer to wishes of good luck for the final year exams, and may not limit such to wishes of ‘Happy Easter’.

As already mentioned, the main text in the e-mail is in Greek. The question that needs to be asked in this case is ‘Why do the participants/producers choose to ‘do’ this in this particular way?’ The identities of the producer(s) of the e-mails and more generally members of the Cypriot Society can be said to be formed by social experience and positionings. Equally, they can be viewed as linguistic and social agents shaping discourse, with any cultural/historical background and experiences being brought to bear on their production of text or generally speaking in interaction (Kress, 1995:119). In other words, the history of Cyprus, the 1974 invasion by the Turkish and the Declaration of TRNC in 1983 form aspects shaping Cypriot identity, in that a group’s national identity is shaped by the very historical dimensions of the group’s culture. Members of the Society identify themselves as members of the Cyprus Society and the Cypriot culture and ethnicity to the extent that they can identify with the way it remembers its past and shapes its present (Kramersch, 1998:7). Admittedly not all members or even all Cypriots identify to the same extent with being Cypriots or that they affiliate to the same extent with the beliefs, customs, tradition and culture of the Cypriot social reality. More precisely, members of the Society may affiliate either to a Hellenocentric discourse shaping their identity or to a Cypriocentric discourse (See section 7.5), both shaped by political beliefs and highlighting either a relationship with Greece based on commonalities or differences respectively. Other aspects such as contact with Cyprus (in the case of English-Cypriot members) are an important parameter in the ways in which one understands the past. Nevertheless, historical facts that have shaped the reality of Cypriots are recognized by Cypriots as part of the Cyprus history (‘η ιστορία του τόπου μας’) and are not challenged as such. For example the Declaration of the TRNC, forms a common ground for Cypriots to both unite as ‘people’ requiring justice as well as ‘people’ stating their opposition and difference with regards to the ‘other’ (Turkish).

As aforementioned, historical aspects of the Greek-Cypriot culture and history are made relevant in the e-mail through the use of Greek, which I assume indicates here a perceived link between language, culture and ethnicity. The particular language choice in an e-mail revolving around a historical/cultural/political situation troubling the homeland appears to originate from the symbolic value of language in the Cypriot history and culture as well as from the social value attributed to it as a characteristic of the Cypriot society life. In the production of a text the producer organizes linguistic material which itself derives from their social experience (Kress, 1995:119). The e-mail projects the long-lasting opposition of the Greek-Cypriots towards the declaration of the TRNC and more generally towards the Turkish-Cypriots. This opposition is part of the Cypriot reality and an ongoing problem for the Cypriot population; an opposition which is also evident on the level of language as people attribute a “symbolic significance of Greek and Turkish for the identity constructions of the respective national communities” (Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004:9). The persistence of the Greek text when protesting against and condemning the actions of the ‘other’ can be said to be an act of identity. Finally, the connection drawn here between language and history impedes on the delivery of the e-mail in English, which in this line of reasoning would be short in grasping the cultural connotations embedded within language.

In a similar case, the extract below is an e-mail involving the Polytechnic Uprising against Junta on 17 November 1973 in Athens, which was also produced in Greek.

Extract 7.5

Description: E-mail circulated to Society members

Subject: "...Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο..."
 From: HEI Cypriot Society
 Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2009 12:56:16 AM

1. **Αγαπητοί Συμφοιτητές και Συμφοιτήτριες,**
2. <<Στο Πολυτεχνείο, στην εξέγερση των φοιτητών, της νεολαίας και ολόκληρου
3. του ελληνικού λαού κατά της χουντικής τυραννίας, το Νοέμβριο του 1973. Το
4. Πολυτεχνείο ήταν η κορυφαία εκδήλωση της επτάχρονης αντιχουντικής πάλης
5. και μία από τις κορυφαίες στιγμές των αγώνων του λαού και της νεολαίας.
6. “Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο.... Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο. Σας μιλά ο ραδιοφωνικός σταθμός των
7. ελεύθερων αγωνιζόμενων φοιτητών , των ελεύθερων αγωνιζόμενων Ελλήνων...”

1. [= *Dear Fellow students,*
2. *To the Technical university, to the revolt of students, the youth and entire the*

3. *Greek population during the Junta tyranny, in November 1973. The event at the*
4. *technical university was the defining event of a seven year fight against*
5. *Junta and one from the leading moments of the fights of population and youth.*
6. *“This is the Technical University.... This is the Technical University”. The*
7. *radio station of the free fighting students speaks to you, the free fighting*
8. *Greeks...”]*

(Dataset A, 18/11/09, E-mail 105)

The above e-mail was sent on the 18th of November 2009, as way of remembering and reminding members the happening. Admittedly, the e-mail was not produced by any of the Society’s Committee members, but is an article adopted by a Greek-Cypriot newspaper ‘Φιλελεύθερος’ (=Liberal), evident in the naming of the writer and naming of the newspaper at the end of the e-mail (See Appendix D12). Despite the fact that the 17th November happenings occurred in Greece, the Cypriot Society’s pre-occupation with the event can be justified by the fact that the Polytechnic Uprising is celebrated in all levels of education in Cyprus, due to its link with the right to education. The uprising is celebrated for the struggles of students for “Bread, Education, Freedom” (slogan heard during the uprising). Students of the Uprising are celebrated as role models due to their capacity as students; an attribute, members of the Society can relate to being students themselves. In addition the 17th November 1973 Polytechnic Uprising is also recognized as an event connected to the 1974 Coup d’etat in Cyprus (as stated in the e-mail, See Appendix D12), which has shaped the Cypriot history and reality. The importance of this e-mail, its content, and both language choice of delivery and source (adopted from a Greek-Cypriot newspaper and not from a Greek newspaper), the latter highlighting contact with home and affiliation with a Cyprio-centric discourse, lies in the fact that such happenings are embraced as part of what shapes their historical consciousness (Mavratsas, 1999).

The production of texts is dictated by particular language choices and vice versa. Circular e-mails involving information and events organized by the Society are mainly produced in both Greek and English, as they serve an effort to create links with both Cypriot, whose native language is Greek and English Cypriot, whose competence in Greek is not that of a native speaker. The inclusion of both languages reflects the Society’s responses: a) to members’ assumed identities, enhancing in this way possibilities for engagement and giving meaning to the processes of mutual engagement, since membership is membership in a Cypriot Society after all and b) the

knowledge of space positions, translated into recognition of being part of an institution (i.e. HEI and subsequently the Student Union), being based in England and being constantly exposed to English language. Notably, when it comes to more subtle issues involving the history and culture of the Cypriot nation, text in e-mails appears solely in Greek. The use of the Greek language appears to be the chief means by which members articulate their sense of value of their nation, its culture and history (Mackridge, 2009:10).

It is safe to state that the participants' linguistic repertoires are tailored to achieve particular purposes each time a text is produced. Choice of language therefore reflects positionings that the producers take up towards the assumed shared identities between them and the audience. In essence, ethnic identity for these members becomes a resource for creating links and enhancing in-group membership.

7.2 ‘Ο Κυπραίος Θέλει Κυπραίους’³² (The Cypriot needs Cypriots): ethnicity shaping mutual engagement.

Participants' perceptions of what counts as common ground can be viewed as an indicator of group identity construction in that ethnic identity was assumed both with regard to Society membership and practices within the Society.

The issue of ethnicity came up at various stages of the interviews and was made relevant in about seven out of the eleven Society related questions (and seven out of the overall twenty-two questions) (See Appendix C2 for reference to ethnicity-related themes). The questions that yielded most references to the issue of ethnicity were: question five ('A large number of the events are named as 'Greek party' or are directly related with the Cypriot tradition - named as 'Santa-Claus pie cutting' or 'Green Monday'. What is your opinion about these events and do you tend to go to such?') and question nine ('it is true, that a lot of people are simultaneously members or have close connections with various groups/Societies. HEI Cypriot Society is only one among those many groups. What do you think keeps the Society alive/active as a force?'). The theme of 'language' as well as the themes of 'culture and tradition', 'history and identity' were made relevant in the participants' answers for both the category-questions 'opinion on culturally-related events' and 'reason for Society's

³² Phrase adopted from an interview with Georgiana who initially expressed this opinion.

existence'. As would be expected, in question five participants brought up the issue of ethnicity in providing their opinion about culturally related events organized by the Society. What was surprising however was the fact that in the question regarding the reasons on the basis of which the Society was kept active, five out of ten participants chose to refer to issues of ethnicity rather than issues of friendship ties, networking and commitment of the members; five out of ten participants made relevant the issue of ethnicity and the five remaining participants made relevant the issue of commitment to the Society (especially by Committee members), friendship ties and networking (see section 4 for themes under the category 'Society's survival'). The participants appeared to draw connections between the Society's maintenance and the ethnic identity of its members.

In answering the interview question regarding the factors that keep the Cypriot Society together as a force, the phrase 'Ο Κυπραίος θέλει Κυπραίους' (The Cypriot needs/wants Cypriots) came up.

Extract 7.6

Question: What in your opinion is it that keeps this particular Society alive?)

Participant: RES9: Georgiana, year old female, Society member

1. Georgiana: Εν μπο- εν μπορείς, ο Κυπραίος θέλει Κυπραίους, εν μπορεί
2. αλλιώς, έστω τζιαι λίους ας πούμεν, τζιαι έτσι ίσως χρειάζεται τούντη Κυπριακή-
3. τούντο Κυπριακό Society τέλος πάντων..

1. *Georgiana: [= You ca- you can't, the Cypriot needs Cypriots, it can't be*
2. *otherwise, even a few at least, and in this sense it is needed this Cypriot –*
3. *the Cypriot Society anyway]*

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

Georgiana states in extract 7.6 that people tend to socialize with what is familiar to them. The statement also indexes what counts as common ground for the members of the Society; that is no other than the identification of the members as Cypriots. In a sense, members' identification with each other's presumed Cypriot identity (to a lesser or greater degree) drives mutual engagement in constituting the Cypriot Society; a Society that revolves around and feeds through that sense of Cypriotness. Apparently, Cypriot identity for the Society members is more than often equated with elements involving shared cultural/ethnic background but most importantly language use. The issue of language was made relevant by the participants at various stages of the interviews; some talked about it when asked to share their opinion on events

related to the Greek-Cypriot tradition (example 7.7 and 7.8), others made it relevant when asked about the ways in which their membership allowed their socialization with other people from Cyprus (example 7.9), while others when in general asked what they thought about the events organized by the Society (example 7.10). The following examples exemplify the centrality that members attribute to common culture, tradition and even more to language:

Extract 7.7

Question: A large number of events take names such as ‘Greek party’ or are related to the Cypriot culture such as ‘Vasilopita Cutting’ or ‘Green Monday’. What’s your opinion about this kind of events?

Participant: RES8: Chrissie, 20 year old female, Society’s 2009-2010 Fresher’s Director

1. Ναι επειδή σε κάποια φάση- ντάξει Λονδίνο...να ανοίξει ο νούς μας ξέρω ‘γω
 2. αλλά σε κάποια φάση θέλεις τζιαι το Κυπριακό, θέλεις να δείς γνωστούς να
 3. μιλήσεις την γλώσσα σου, να εκφραστείς όπως θέλεις...
-
1. [= Yes because at some point- okay we come in London...we see new things and
 2. all, but at some point you do need the Cypriot (element), you want to see familiar
 3. people, to speak your language, to express yourself the way you want...]

(Dataset B, 19/05/09, Interview H)

Extract 7.8

Question: A large number of events take names such as ‘Greek party’ or are related to the Cypriot culture such as ‘Vasilopita Cutting’ or ‘Green Monday’. What’s your opinion about this kind of events?

Participant: RES9: Georgiana, 20 year old female, Society member

1. ίσως για αυτόν τον λόγο πηγαίνω τώρα στο στες εκδηλώσεις που καμνει το
 2. Greek society γιατί ντάξει εν οι μόνες φορές που είμαι μαζί με Κυπραίους [...]
 3. λέω ‘γω ντάξει αφού βρεθούμαστε, να μιλήσεις τζιαι λίγο Κυπριακά...
-
1. [= maybe that’s why I now go to the events organized by the Greek Society because
 2. these are the only times that I am with Cypriots [...]] and I mean it’s okay since we
 3. meet up, you can speak a bit Cypriot as well...]

(Dataset B, 20/05/09, Interview I)

Extract 7.9

Question: Has your membership in the Society offered you the opportunity to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?

Participant: RES6: Eliza, 20 year old female, Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/2009 Treasurer)

1. [...] τζιαι που εσηζητούσα τσια με άλλα μέλη του ομίλου ειδικά όταν ήμουν
2. fresher’s director το feedback που έπιασα ήταν ότι ευχαριστούμε επειδή με
3. τούντον τρόπον ήβραμεν άλλους Κυπραίους, εν ένα στήριγμα. Αλλά τζιαι τες
4. περισσότερες φορές θεωρείς ότι κάποια πράματα εν culturally language based,

5. οπότεν θέλεις να τα κάμεις ας πούμε, εννοώ θέλεις να αναμεικτείς με
6. Κυπραίους...

1. [= [...] when discussing with other members of the Society, especially when
2. I was a Fresher's Director, the feedback that I got was that: "thank you,
3. because in this way we found other Cypriots and it is a prop." But most
4. times you see that some things are culturally language based, so you do
5. want to do it lets say, I mean you want to be involved with other
6. Cypriots...]

(Dataset B, 09/05/09, Interview F)

Extract 7.10

Question: Could you tell me what your opinion is about the events organized by the Society?

Participant: RES3: Thanos, 22 year old male, Society's 2009-2010 Web Officer)

1. Ε κοίτα αφού το έζησα τζιαι 'γώ προσωπικά, πρώτος – το πρώτο πράμα που
2. επιτυγχάνεται με τες εκδηλώσεις είναι να γνωριστούν μεταξύ τους οι Κύπριοι
3. του HEI, που για για τους περισσότερους εν αρκετά σημαντικό τούτο
4. [...]τσιαι πιστεύω ότι κυρίως τσιείνο που μας διά περισσότερην αυτοπεποίθηση
5. στο να κάμνουμε φιλίες με άτομα της χώρας μας είναι εκτός που την νοοτροπία
6. τζιαι το θέμα της γλώσσας, γιατί ντάξει μπορεί ούλλη μέρα να μιλάς στα Αγγλικά
7. λόγω του course και λοιπά, δεν λέω ότι, κανένας μας δεν εν εναντίον της παρέας
8. με τους συμφοιτητές μα στους Άγγλ- τους Αγγλόφωνους. Απλά ντάξει η άνεση
9. που νοιώθεις, με το να είσαι με κάποιο δικό σου άτομο στο εξωτερικό εν πολλά
10. σημαντικό.

1. [= Look, since I have personally experienced it first – the first thing that
2. is achieved through these events is for the Cypriots of HEI to meet each
3. other, which for most this is very important {...} and
4. I believe that what mostly gives us more confidence in making
5. friendships with people from our country is, besides the mentality, the issue of
6. language, because, okay, youmight speak English all day because of your
7. course etc, and I am not saying thatany of us is contrary to befriending our
8. classmates who are Eng- the English-speaking. It is just that the comfort you
9. feel by being with someone close to you whist abroad is very
10. important.]

(Dataset B, 13/05/09, Interview G)

It appears that participants associate the events organized by the Society with contact with other Cypriots. Most importantly however, the events organized are seen as opportunities through which the members are able to speak their native language. The issue of language use becomes a link between members as well as the drive for mutual engagement in Society practices. The perception of language as part of a person's ethnic identity is evident in all the above extracts (lines 2-3 in extract 7.7, line 3 in extract 7.8, line 4-5 in extract 7.9 and lines 5-6 in extract 7.10). The participants support that the issue of shared language is what drives engagement with

other Cypriot members. Evidently, language use for these members is seen as a type of social practice (Holliday, Hyde and Kullman, 2004:79); a discourse which becomes a way of defining and affirming interpersonal relations and making sense of self and others in the social reality that the Cypriot Society builds for its members. The fact that the members refer to such issues, could be considered as a way of utilizing visible characteristics such as language and tradition to indicate their association with and identification as Cypriots. Language use, and more specifically the Cypriot Greek dialect ('Κυπριακά') is presented in the interviews as an attribute shared by the members of the Society; an attribute which becomes salient in describing both the self and other members. Such representations can be considered as ways of relating actions to identities as well as ways of associating particular properties with social categories (De Fina, 2006). In this case, being identified as 'Cypriot' suggests that the person is from Cyprus, aspires to the Cypriot culture, tradition and history and that he or she is a speaker of the Cypriot Greek dialect.

Provided that the issue of ethnic identity and all that it entails - origins, culture, tradition and language – is given great prominence within the Society, any members of the Society not being identified as sharing aspects of that very identity are more likely to be excluded from the major group (See Section 7.3). More precisely, the majority of the Society members being Greek-Cypriot members hold an advantageous position in relation to the English-Cypriot members based on the issue of language. The Cypriot Greek dialect and more generally Greek is the main vehicle of communication in both Society informal meetings and e-mails. The English Cypriot members' competence is limited, in some cases with regards to comprehension but most importantly with regards to the actual use of the language. The analysis of the e-mails that appear solely in Greek (see section 7.1) provides valid grounds to suggest that Greek Cypriots, as the dominant group, have more resources at their disposal (i.e. common language) and use those resources as forms of legitimation in the process of marginalizing others (Van Dijk et. al., 1997). If the English-Cypriots are competent in reading and comprehending the Greek text, then they are instantly included, whereas if such ability is limited then they are distanced from the communication taking place and at the same time placed at the margins of the group. Looking at the ways in which language use (or non-use) connected to particular identity categorizations results in differentiated membership, the case of 'τσιαρλούες' becomes a telling case.

7.3 Identities of in-betweenness as partial membership: the case of ‘τσιαρλούς’ (Charlies)

As previously stated, the participants’ reflections on Society practices in the interviews (see section 7.2) and language choice at an official level (see section 7.1) highlighted the fact that common language stands as a major factor in defining membership and affirming interpersonal relationships. Even more so, use of language can also function as a defining factor in identity categorizations that are in extent related to forms of membership. The case of a group of Society members, who are identified as ‘τσιαρλούς’ by the rest of the Society members, illuminates this discussion.

Participant observation showed that members of the Society are all Greek-Cypriot with the exception of five members who are English Cypriot³³. These members are identified as ‘τσιαρλούς’. The five English-Cypriot members, Angela, Helen, Eugene, Alexandra and Katrina are all female, they have Cypriot origins and are all students of the given HEI University. Angela is a 20 year English Cypriot female in her second year of study at the HEI where the Society is based. She had been living in England until 2005 when she permanently moved to Cyprus. When in Cyprus she attended private schooling; the school’s medium of instruction was English in all subjects. Her knowledge of Greek is limited; she can understand Greek but is unable (or unwilling) to speak it. Katrina and Helen are both of 20 years of age, both female and both in their second year of study at HEI University. Both Katrina and Helen live in London and their knowledge of Greek is limited. Alexandra is a 22 year old female, doing a diploma in HEI University. She lives in London. Her knowledge of Greek is at a medium level, i.e. she understands some Greek but she does not speak it. Finally, Eugene is a 21 year old female in her second year of studies. Eugene moved to Cyprus when she was 10 years old and her level of Greek is very good, perhaps even at the level of a native speaker. The five English Cypriot girls have developed a close-knit group with each other, perhaps on the grounds that they are doing the same course together (Helen, Katrina, Angela and Eugene) and that they are the only

³³ In addition to my observations, the Society’s Chair has shared information that validates this claim, in that he has presented me with the registry of members, documenting the Society’s members throughout the time the research was conducted. However, I was not granted permission to use the registry.

English Cypriots in the Society. An issue requiring clarification is that in my reference to Greek above with regards to the ‘τσιαρλούες’ largely refers to the use of the Greek-Cypriot dialect and not Standard Modern Greek. The girls have been heard on few occasions to be code-switching from English to Greek Cypriot. There are no documented occasions of girls’ use of Standard Modern Greek in oral communication.

Despite the fact that a) the parents of such individuals were perhaps born and raised in Cyprus, b) that the girls themselves have permanently moved to Cyprus and c) despite the fact that these individuals could be officially recognized as Greek-Cypriot (e.g. passports), it appears that their ‘Englishness’ interferes with any possible categorization by the Greek Cypriot members as one of them. The term ‘Englishness’ describes attributed features with which the ‘Charlies’ are identified with; more specifically, their up-bringing in England and what that entails (i.e use of English as the main vehicle of communication in England, the way of living etc.) is what defines their Englishness. The interesting point here is that despite the fact that ‘τσιαρλούες’ mutually engage with other members of the Society in developing a practice and sustaining a community, the reification of their participation does not run in parallel with their engagement in practice.

Once the categorization ‘τσιαρλούα’ came up in the casual talk recordings, post hoc interviews were conducted with Angela and Eugene (two of the individuals referred to as ‘τσιαρλούες’ by the rest of the Society members). During an interview with Angela – participant identified as English Cypriot – she stated that the Society was formed by cliques. After this very statement she was asked whether that issue affected her participation in the Society; in answering this question, she made relevant the issue of language use as can be seen below.

Extract 7.11³⁴

Description: When Angela was asked ‘What is your opinion about the vents organized by the Society?’ she made reference to cliques. Picking up on that she was later on asked: ‘Does the fact that there are cliques affect your participation in the Society?’

Participant: Angela, 20 year old female, member of the Society

1. Angela: Yeah it does because I mean, I always try and make the effort to say
2. hello to everybody and meet everybody and I always get really embarrassed
3. because my Greek is really bad. So like that pulls me back personally. But I
4. think you get people that just kind of look at you and just think ok I can- don’t
5. know your different so am just going to just like ignore you and stay with my

³⁴ This interview was conducted in English. Knowing that Angela’s competency in Greek was limited, she was asked prior to the interview whether she wanted to conduct the interview in English or Greek and her choice was English.

6. friends here and that. Yeah it stops you from perhaps not from getting to know
7. everybody but getting to know everybody well or just like ok I know that you
8. are Elena and you study Maths, like do you know what I mean?
9. Valentina: Yeah
10. Angela: Like you don't get passed that.
11. Valentina: Hm, hm
12. Angela: So it's a little bit, sometimes you can feel a bit sort of isolated within
13. the- the Society.

(Dataset B, 26/09/10, Interview L)

In the above extract Angela connects the formation of cliques with restricted participation and language use. While she claims that the formation of cliques affect her participation, she chooses to make relevant here her competency in Greek and how that hinders her communication with other members. Within all the interviews collected, when asked: 'What is your opinion about the events organized by the Society?' it was only in Angela's and Georgiana's answer that the theme of 'cliques' emerged. However, in Georgiana's answer (extract 6.20, Section 6.4) the issue of cliques was connected with the Society's Committee failure to structure and organize the events while in Angela's answer above the theme of cliques is associated with the theme of language and more specifically her own language fluency. The issue of language and difference are of importance here. Apparently, her identification as different from other members is based on the fact that her 'Greek is really bad' and is therefore mischievous in carrying out conversations in Greek, which can be said to be the dominant language of communication in the Society. Despite the fact that participants like Angela have Cypriot Greek origins or that they live in Cyprus, being not identified as an equal to the other Greek-Cypriot members due to language competency in Greek is a prevalent phenomenon in the Society. In support of this is a recording of casual talk among Chrissie, Eliza and Gabriele.

Extract 7.12³⁵

Description: Casual talk recording between Eliza, Gabriele and Chrissie at the girls' halls of residence. The 3 girls form a close-knit group. The discussion on Charlies ('τσιαρλούες') came up while talking about the upcoming Society elections, in which some of the Charlies ('τσιαρλούες') had run for a position in the Committee. In this extract the discussion revolves around Eugene.

Participants: Eliza (Society's 2007/08 Frsher's Director and 2008/09 Treasurer), Chrissie (Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director) and Gabriele (Society member).

1. Eliza: Οι γονείς της Eugene πόθεν ένι;
2. Chrissie: Εν που την Κύπρο. Εμυλή- εμυλήσαμε πριν λίγο τζαιρό τζαι είσιεν μου

³⁵ See Appendix G4 for an extended version of the discussion.

3. εξηγήσει ακριβώς πως [εγ-
4. Eliza: [τότε γιατί μιλά έτσι;
5. Chrissie: Επειδή εμεγάλωσε δαμέ τζαι μετά επήε junior school μόλις ήρτεν Κύπρο
6. τζαι μετά [εκατέληξεν English School.
7. Eliza: [ξέρω τζαι άλλους που επήαν junior school αλλά μιλούν
8. ελληνικά ας πούμε
9. Chrissie: Ναι αλλά σκέφτου ότι εμεγάλωσεν Αγγλία τζαι επήενεν μόνο ελληνικο
10. σχολείο ας [πούμεν μια φορά την βδομάδα]
11. Gabriele: [Γιατί εσύ στο English School εμίλούσεσ;] εγγλέζικα; =
12. Chrissie: = οϊ ρε μάνα μου αλλά εν επήα junior school ούτε οι γονιοϊ μου εμιλούσαν
13. έτσι, εμιλούσαν μου ελληνικά, τους- οι γονείς της =
14. Eliza: = Οι γονείς της εμιλούσαν της Αγγλικά;
15. Chrissie: Νομίζω η μάμα της εμιλούσεν της Αγγλικά. Επειδή τζαι η μάμα της
16. εμεγάλωσεν Αγγλία, εν ο παπάς της νομίζω που ήταν που Κύπρο τζαι
17. ήβρεν την μάμα της.
18. Eliza: Εν ηξέρω πάντως εγω επρόσεξα ότι κάμνει πάρα πολύ code-switching.
19. Chrissie: [Εννοείς –]
20. Eliza: [Τύπου ας πούμεν], ναι τύπου ας πούμεν
21. Chrissie: Αλλάσσει ας πούμεν ρόλους... εννοείς=
22. Eliza: = Ναι =
23. Chrissie: = [εγγλεζοκυπραίους]
24. Eliza: [τζαι οϊ τζείνο που] κάμνουμεν εμείς επειδή είμαστε που το English
25. School. Εννοώ εν ηξέρω.
26. Chrissie: Ε ναι ας πούμεν παραπάνω εν- τζείνο που εν πολλά χτυπητό εν το /r/ τους
27. ας πούμεν, που εν να =
28. Eliza: = ναι έσιεις δίκαιο ατε /ɪ/ε, /ɪ/ε.
29. Chrissie: Ναι.
30. Gabriele: Εμένα πάντως μιλά μου ελληνικά όποτε με θεωρεί, τύπου ελληνικά.
31. Hahaha.
32. Eliza: Τέλος πάντων ο καθένας όπως μπορεί [να εκφράσει την ελληνική]
33. Gabriele: [Ρε Gab/ɪ/iele εν να που κάμνεις;]
34. Eliza: Τζαι το λ, Gabriele/ɪ/e.
35. Chrissie: Ντάξει τζείνη η Eugene- αναλόγως η Eugene εν που τεσ καλές

1. Eliza: *Where are Eugene's parents from?*
2. Chrissie: *They're from Cyprus. We've ta- we've talked a while ago and she*
3. *had explained to me how exactly things [hap-*
4. Eliza: *[then why does she talk like that?*
5. Chrissie: *Because she grew up here and then she went to junior school when*
6. *she came to Cyprus and [then she ended up to English School*
7. Eliza: *[I know other people that went to junior school but*
8. *they do speak Greek*
9. Chrissie: *Yes but think that she grew up in England and only went to Greek*
10. *school [once a week]*
11. Gabriele: *[Why when you were in English School you spoke] English? =*
12. Chrissie: *= no but I never went to junior school and my parents did not talk to me*
13. *like that, they were talking Greek, them- her parents=*
14. Eliza: *= Her parents spoke English with her?*
15. Chrissie: *I think her mum spoke English. Because her mum grew up in*
16. *England I think; it's her dad I think that was from Cyprus, and he*
17. *found her mum.*
18. Eliza: *I don't know I noticed that she code-switches a lot.*
19. Chrissie: *[You mean –]*
20. Eliza: *[Kind of], yeah kind of =*

21. *Chrissie: She switches between roles...you mean=*
22. *Eliza: = Yeah =*
23. *Chrissie: = [English-Cypriots]*
24. *Eliza: [and not that one] we do because we are from English School. I mean*
25. *I don't know.*
26. *Chrissie: Yes and mostly it is- the thing that is most striking is their /r/*
27. *when they =*
28. *Eliza: = yeah you right /ɹ/e, /ɹ/e.*
29. *Chrissie: Yeah.*
30. *Gabriele: As far as I am concerned she speaks Greek to me whenever she sees me,*
31. *kind of Greek. Hahaha.*
32. *Eliza: Anyway each person [can express their Greek]*
33. *Gabriele: [Gab/ɹ/iele how are you?]*
34. *Eliza: And the I, Gabrie/l/e.*
35. *Chrissie: Okay, Eugene- considerably Eugene is one of the good ones.*

(Dataset C, 20/03/10, Recording D)

In this extract the issue of language use appears to be an issue on the basis of which Eugene and the ‘τσιαρλούες’ in general can be identified as deviant from the rest of the Society members. Lines 4-7 are of greatest interest here as they indicate the links that participants draw between language use, origins and country of upbringing. Chrissie’s response to Eliza’s question in line 2 appears to be a dispreferred second-pair part (Liddicoat, 2007:111), as Eliza in line 3 indirectly challenges the relationality of Chrissie’s answer to the fact that Eugene ‘μιλά κάπως’ (‘speaks in a funny way’). There appears to be an implicit assumption about the association between Eugene’s language use and her parents’ nationality. The fact that her parents are Cypriot as well as the fact that Eugene has been living in Cyprus since she was ten are somehow in contrast with Eugene’s competency in Greek.

In line 18, Eliza provides a characteristic of Eugene’s language use, that of code-switching, which appears to be an elaboration on ‘μιλά κάπως’ in line 3 and generally speaking a ‘category-implied activity’ of the ‘τσιαρλούες’ which is a categorization device attributed to English-Cypriot members earlier on in their discussion. A categorization device is a classification of categories for inclusion or exclusion of the self and other, as well as to the identification of such categories with typical activities and routines (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006:3, see section 2.2 on MCA). The fact that code-switching is taken to be an attribute characterizing the ‘τσιαρλούες’ in general can be seen in line 26 where Chrissie contributes to Eliza’s claims by making relevant the issue of pronunciation through the use of 3rd person plural possessive pronoun ‘τους’ (‘their’). Chrissie chooses to make relevant the

English-Cypriot members' pronunciation of the sound /r/ as a category-implied activity. In detail, in her reference of the sound /r/ she represents the sound as a post alveolar approximant (/ɹ/ as in red) usually found in English language. Her choice to enact the pronunciation of /r/ as a post alveolar approximant is perhaps a result of her effort to highlight the difference between the /r/ sound found in Greek pronunciation, which is an alveolar trill. Eliza's 'ατε /ɹ/ε, /ɹ/ε' in line 28 is performing a stylized 'other' in a parody of 'typical' English-Cypriot pronunciations of Greek and therefore positioning herself outside of that group (Johnstone, 1999:515). Likewise, Gabriele in line 32 takes on an altera persona; the persona of Eugene and speaks as if she owns the voice of Eugene. Notably, during an interview with Eugene, the occasions in which her pronunciation of /r/ - in her uses of Greek- as a post alveolar approximant were only a handful. I assume that Gabriele exaggerates the category-implied activity of the post alveolar /ɹ/ in performing Eugene both in order to support her statement in line 30 ('τύπου ελληνικά' meaning 'some kind of Greek') as well as to construct a hyperbolic realization of the stereotyped pronunciation associated with English-Cypriots (Coupland, 2001:350).

What is worthy to note however, is that code-switching originating from Greek-Cypriot members - quite frequently found in the Greek-Cypriot participants' interactions - is presented here as not being an identifiable attribute of the social group Eliza (and her interlocutors) is part of. This is evident in lines 24-25 in which Eliza justifies hers and her interlocutors' code-switches to their years as students at The English School. Undeniably, 'The English School' (English-medium school) was founded in 1900 a time in which Cyprus was under colonial administration and when in 1960 Cyprus gained its independence, control of The English School was passed to the Republic of Cyprus. Therefore, the very fact that the school maintained an orientation towards the English language throughout the years provides a valid ground for Eliza's claim, as their frequent contact with the language could result in code-switching between English which was the medium of instruction and Greek as their native language. The argument provided here by Eliza does not appear to be applicable or acceptable for the case of Eugene. She is not let off from being criticized as 'speaking funny (Greek)' due to her extensive or even exclusive (junior school) contact with the English language. The English-Cypriot members' code-switching becomes a marked choice in the sense that ownership rights over the use of Greek language cannot be claimed by the English-Cypriot members. Code-switching

for Greek-Cypriots can be taken to be unmarked in that mastery of both Greek and English enables such moves, while code-switching for English-Cypriots can be taken to be marked in that it reflects their inadequacy in mastering Greek. In essence, on the basis of linguistic features such as code-switching and pronunciation (found in extract 7.12) members construct ideological representations of linguistic difference between them and the ‘τσιαρλούες’ through the process of ‘iconization’ (Irvine and Gal, 2000). Code-switching from Greek to English as well as pronunciation of /r/ as a post alveolar approximant appear to be qualities of a linguistic image linked with a particular social image; an iconic representation that binds these images together in a connection that appears to be of inherent nature (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 37-38).

A similar example of social categorization on the basis of a particular linguistic image is extract 7.13. In this case, the issue of language use becomes a resource in defining the ‘other’.

Example 7.13

Description: Society Meeting Recording. In this instance Eliza is trying to let the other members know that Alex (a female member) would like to be part of the Society’s football team in futsal games. The discussion here revolves around the identification of Alex.

Participants: Alexandros (Society’s 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 Chair), Adrienne (Society’s 2008/09 PR and Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President), Andreas (Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 Vice President), Eliza (Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 Treasurer), Meni (Society’s 2009/10 Secretary) and Michael (Society’s 2008/09 Sports Officer and 2009/10 Vice President).

1. Eliza: Πρέπει να σας πώ ότι έπρησεν με η Άλεξ, τσαι είπα της να αποταθεί σε
2. σένα ή στο:ν –
3. Michael: Ποια [εν που ‘ναι η Άλεξ;]
4. Andreas: [Ποια εν η Άλεξ;]
5. Alexandros: Η τσιάρλισσα η Άλεξ;
6. Eliza: Τι; (.) Ναι
7. Andreas: Μα τζιέινη τσιαρλούα που ‘ρκεται τζιαι εν ηξέρει κανένα τζιαι
8. [εν μιλά εν κινείται;
9. Meni: [Ναι
10. Andreas: [Α παναγία μου.
11. Eliza: [Παιθκιά:: οϊ η: κοπέλα] θέλει [να:
12. Valentina: [Οϊ υπόψην ξέρει ελληνικά=
13. Adrienne: =Υπόψην ξέρει ελληνικά τσαι καταλάβει [κάποια πράματα.]
14. Alexandros: [Ε ναι ξέρει λία
15. ελληνικά
16. Andreas: [Εν με κόφτει]
17. Eliza: [Γι’ αυτό μεν] μιλάτε μπροστά της.=
18. Thanos: =Αα εν τσιέινη η κοπέλα-
19. Eliza: Τιρ μεν μιλάτε μπροστά της την Καθαρά Δευτέρα, μεν μιλάτε μπροστά της
20. για τσιέινη στα ελληνικά διότι παιθκιά καταλάβει.
21. Alexandros: Ήταν τσιαμέ Καθαρά Δευτέρα;

22. Andreas: Όπως λαλεί τσιαί ο Παοκτζής-
 23. Eliza: [Ναι]
 24. Adrienne: [Ναι]

1. Eliza: *I have to tell you that Alex drove me crazy, and I told her to talk to*
 2. *you or to: -*
 3. Michael: *Who [on earth is Alex?]*
 4. Andreas: *[Who is Alex?]*
 5. Alexandros: *Alex the Charlie?*
 6. Eliza: *What? (.) Yes*
 7. Andreas: *Oh that Charlie that comes to events but doesn't know anyone and*
 8. *[doesn't talk nor move?*
 9. Meni: *[Yes*
 10. Andreas: *[Jesus.*
 11. Eliza: *[Guy::s no the: girl] wants [to:*
 12. Valentina: *[No, have in mind that she knows*
 13. *Greek=*
 14. Adrienne: *= Have in mind that she knows Greek and she understands*
 15. *[some things.]*
 16. Alexandros: *[E yes she knows some Greek*
 17. Andreas: *[I don't care]*
 18. Eliza: *[So don't] talk in front of her.=*
 19. Thanos: *=Oh it's that girl-*
 20. Eliza: *Tip don't talk in front of her on Greek Monday, don't talk in front of*
 21. *her about her because she understands.*
 22. Alexandros: *She was there on Green Monday?*
 23. Andreas: *Just like the Paok fan says-*
 24. Eliza: *[Yes]*
 25. Adrienne: *[Yes]*

(Dataset C, 11/03/09, Recording A)

Alexandros' comment 'η τσιάρλισσα η 'Αλεξ' in line 5 is a members' category attributed to the particular individual; a category by means of which a female member of the Society, Alex, is identifiable. Andreas' use of 'τσιαρλούα' however does not refer to the female member named Alex, but to the female member that does not socialize with other members and does not talk. The members' category is not used in conjunction with the naming of an individual but with the definition of her actions. The mentioning to Alex's actions and their relation to the categorization device is of great importance here. Andreas' reference to 'εν μιλά' is considered by the other members in lines 12, 13, 14 to be an ellipsis for 'εν μιλά ελληνικά' and then taken up to be a category-implied activity of inarticulateness in Greek with regards to the 'τσιαρλούα' (Charlie). Throughout this conversation, in lines 6, and 9-11 the category 'τσιάρλισσα/τσιαρλούα' (Charlie) remains unchallenged. In line 12 however, Valentina initiates an 'accounting' (instances of talk which "take the trouble

in talk and treat it in some way” and “include activities such as complaining, instructing, admitting, apologizing, accusing and ridiculing, all of which are activities related to the activity of correcting itself” (Liddicoat, 2007:193)). Valentina’s accounting is directed at Andreas’s statement through an explanation that poses a distinction between what is inferred in Andreas’ statement and what is the actual fact. In a way, Valentina (line12), Adrienne (line 13) and Alexandros (line 14) challenge what they consider to be a category implied activity for the category ‘τσιαρλούα’ (Charlie). Apparently, not being fluent in Greek is a characteristic attributed to the category ‘τσιαρλούα’ (Charlie). This very characteristic is challenged in terms of understanding Greek. In terms of speaking Greek (‘εν μιλά’ line 8) Alex is placed in a peripheral position and still identified as ‘τσιαρλούα’ on the basis of language of communication. Inability to communicate in Greek is more explicitly articulated later on in the discussion as an issue that cultivates the marginalization of the ‘τσιαρλούες’ in terms of legitimacy to claim status positions in the Society.

Extract 7.14

Description: Society Meeting Recording. In this instance Meni is informing the other members know Alex (a female English-Cypriot member) would like to apply for a position in the Society’s committee. Participants: Alexandros (Society’s 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 Chair), Andreas (Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 Vice President) and Meni (Society’s 2009/10 Secretary).

1. Meni: Εμένα είπεν μου η τσιαρλού τσιείνη.
2. Alexandros: Η Άλεξ;
3. Meni: [Oĩ]
4. Eliza: [‘Oĩ,] οϊ
5. Meni: Η Άντζελα
6. Alexandros: Α, ναι , α εν τσιείνη που {inaudible speech} –
7. Andreas: ↑Ε:: να φέρεται την τσιαρλούα μέσ’ το Society να μεν ημπορεί να μιλά
8. τα Κυπριακά γαμώτο, να της κάμνετε μετάφραση; Οουου ρεεεε

1. *Meni: That Charlie talked to me about being interested.*
2. *Alexandros: Alex*
3. *Meni: [No]*
4. *Eliza: [No,] no*
5. *Meni: Angela*
6. *Alexandros: Oh, yes , the one that {inaudible speech} –*
7. *Andreas: ↑E:: are you going to bring the Charlie in the Society with her not*
8. *being able to speak fucking Cypriot Greek and you having to translate ?Ooooo*

(Dataset C, 11/03/09, Recording A)

In the above statement, Andreas explicitly links the category-implied activity of ‘not being able to speak Cypriot Greek’ with the category ‘τσιαρλούα’. Andreas

further explanation in line 8 about the need of the other members needing to translate for Angela in case she becomes a committee member, presents a distinction between what Angela speaks and the Committee's common code. In a sense 'Κυπριακά' is represented here to be an ingroup marker of all the Committee (and almost all other) members and that Angela will be unable to be assimilated in the Committee as she lacks that resource.

Having in mind the information presented in extracts 7.11, 7.13 and 7.14, it seems that the non-availability of the main resource – Greek language - for communication and relationship building within the Society results in restricted forms of participation in the Society's practices. To make this claim clear, it is worth looking at an instance of an event documented in my fieldwork notes describing how 'τσιαρλούες' have restricted access in tools used in a particular activity.

Extract 7.15

Description: Fieldwork Notes I

Event: Cypriot Society Games Night

Date and time: December 2nd, 2009, 17:00.

Location: Student Union on X Campus

1. I set off to campus to attend the Games Night event by the Society at about 17:00 since I
2. knew that no one will be on time except for the Committee members. I arrived at 17:30
3. and as I walked in I found Michael, Nicholas, John and Andreas (3 Committee members
4. and ex-Committee member) sitting at a round table playing cards. [...]
5. The four boys that were playing card games broke off their game and started mingling
6. with the rest of the members who were sitting around the sofa. Meni approached the tea
7. table and we started talking about studying when we were interrupted by Eugene who
8. wanted to greet Meni. After she left I inquired about the two girls who were sitting with
9. her as I did not know them. Meni told me their names, about their studies and that they
10. were English-Cypriot ('Εγγλεζοκυπραίες'). As I left to greet Eliza, Meni approached
11. Eugene and her friends and started talking and joking. In the meantime more members
12. were arriving at the event. The members were breaking into smaller groups chatting about
13. issues such as football, clothes, essays and plans for the society's Christmas party. After
14. Alexandros (Chair) arrived, the Committee members started talking about ticket
15. reservations for the Christmas party and went on to hand out (sell) tickets to members who
16. have reserved them. Afterwards the members parted into groups playing different games.
17. Alexandros, Meni and Chrissie were playing Xbox, Julius, Michael, Nicholas and John
18. were playing a card game, while all other members sat around the sofa in a big square
19. playing 'Taboo'.
20. Eugene and her two friends Francesca and Alex, sat at a table behind the sofa and
21. chatted. A while later, Eugene picked up a sealed box called 'Who's growing on trees?'
22. which is a table game. **Eugene asked Eliza, who was playing 'Taboo' with the rest of**
23. **the members, whether she could open the sealed box. Eliza told her that of course she**
24. **could but wondered why Eugene and her friends would not join the other members in**
25. **playing 'Taboo'. Angela then who apparently understood what Eliza said, answered**
26. **'Because everything is in Greek'.** Eliza uttered an 'oh' and turned back to her 'taboo'
27. game. Eugene, Angela and Alex opened the sealed game, which was the only game in
28. English, and started playing.
29. Around 8:30 the Committee members (John, Chrissie and Adrienne) disengaged from
30. the table games and started selling slips for the Bingo game. Almost all of the members
31. purchased at least one slip. Adrienne set the raffle machine and the Bingo game started.
32. All the members were shouting and joking with each other about who is going to win. **As**

33. **the game was being conducted in Greek, and because I had heard Angela's indirect**
34. **complaint about the table games, I turned my attention to the girls. I noticed that**
35. **after Adrienne was shouting the winning numbers, Eugene would turn to Francesca**
36. **and tell her what the number was in English.** The bingo game finished with 3 members
37. winning prizes which included: a ticket to the Society's Christmas party, a voucher for
38. Lacoste and a voucher for an Ecco gas station in Cyprus. After the Bingo game the
39. members stayed for another half an hour and then left either alone or in groups.

To begin with, the five girls under the categorization 'τσιαρλούες' are registered members of the Society and therefore are registered in the Society's mailing list. Through the circulation of emails inviting members to the events the members are given access to the practice through that very invitation and legitimacy to contribute to the practice through their presence in events. In extract 7.15 above, it is possible to see how 'τσιαρλούες' mutually engage in the Society's practice by attending events and interacting with other members. Interestingly however, it appears that the necessary tools that are used in particular activities are not shared by 'τσιαρλούες'. For example, the fact that the table games that were used in the Games Night, were all (except one) in Greek language, limits access to the girls as most of them (with the exception of Eugene) are not fluent in Greek. This was explicitly articulated by Angela in lines 24-25 where she uttered 'Because everything is in Greek'. Language in this case, can be seen as tool through which members are able to reify meanings but also become a source of shared participation. The Greek-Cypriot members were in positions of power and were granted full access during the Society event in that they could play any game, either that was in Greek or English, while the 'τσιαρλούες' had restricted access in mutually engaging in game playing with the Greek-Cypriots due to language competency restrictions. Limitations, such as inability to speak the Society's predominant language, result in weakening relations of mutual engagement in that shared ways of doing things (e.g. Greek as language used in interactions and relations among members) are in reality not shared by all the members.

It can be said that category-implied activities such as speaking a particular language affiliated with specific ethnic identifications, do not only include such attributes. The first half of the category 'English-Cypriot', that is the 'English' identification, plays a significant role in how the members perceive the English-Cypriot members.

Extract 7.16³⁶

Description: Three girls are having coffee at Eliza's halls of residence. Their discussion revolves around the outcome of the Society elections, teasing, friendship and the 'τσιαρλούς'. The discussion below follows Eliza's question of whether anyone has seen Georgiana lately.

Participants: Eliza (Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/09 Treasurer), Adrienne (Society's 2008/09 PR and Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President) and Valentina (researcher).

1. Adrienne: Εν συναναστρέφεται με τζιέινες τες εγγλεζοπουτούτες τες wannabe =
2. Eliza: =α τες τσιαρλούς μας;
3. Adrienne: Τες τσιαρλούδες που θέλουν να μπηχτούν παντού τζιαι θυμηθήκαν
4. ότι εν Κυπραίες;
5. Eliza: Εν ηξέρω, εν νομίζω. Ε δεν είναι της κλάσης της οι τσιαρλούς. Τούτες
6. οι ούλλες, η Eugene που ξαφνικά έγινε Ευγενία παρεπιμπτόντως άλλο
7. σπουδαίο =
8. Valentina: =Τι εννοείς; =
9. Eliza: = δρώμενο.

1. *Adrienne: Doesn't she socialize with those English something, the wannabe =*
2. *Eliza: = oh, our Charlies?*
3. *Adrienne: The Charlies that want to be involved in everything and they have*
4. *now remembered they are Cypriot?*
5. *Eliza: I don't know, I don't think so. The Charlies are not good enough for her.*
6. *them all, Eugene who all of sudden become Evgenia by the way, another*
7. *important =*
8. *Valentina: =What are you saying? =*
9. *Eliza: = update.*

(Dataset C, 07/05/09, Recording C)

In this part of the recording, Adrienne wonders whether Georgiana³⁷ is socializing with the English-Cypriot members of the Society. In line 1, Adrienne refers to the English-Cypriot members through the use of 'εγγλεζοπουτούτες' ('English-something') and the addition 'wannabe'. Mere reference to English-something with no clarification of what that something stands for, triggers Eliza's immediate response in line 2, who provides a clear categorization of the wording 'English-something' as 'τσιαρλούς'. With regards to line 1, Adrienne's term 'English-something' used to describe the English-Cypriot members maintains the first half 'English' and generalizes the second, giving in this way emphasis on the English aspect. Notably, 'εγγλεζοπουτούτες' functions here as an inference-rich feature of presumptive relevance to the category of 'τσιαρλούς' (Schegloff, 2007:469). In other words, background knowledge of the context in which a social practice translates into everyday experience activates the relevant invocation of a category (Schegloff, 2007), which is provided by Eliza. In line 3 Adrienne picks up on Eliza's categorization and

³⁶ See Appendix G3 for an extended version of the talk

³⁷ For a discussion on Georgiana see section 6.4

makes relevant the English-Cypriots' members pre-occupation with the Society with the negative use of the word 'μπηχτούν' (enter with force or to squeeze into) which I suspect is an elaboration on the characterization 'wannabe' introduced in line 1. I support this claim on the basis of the statement in line 3 'θέλουν να μπηχτούν παντού τζιαι θυμηθήκαν οτι εν Κυπραίες' (and they remembered they are Cypriots). This statement assumes that the English-Cypriots realized their Cypriot identity when they came to England and when they wanted to become members of the Society. It is assumed that prior to that, their Cypriot identity was not a prevalent aspect of the self.

The characterization 'wannabe' is conceivably referring to Cypriot identity, which the 'τσιαρλούες' claim through their engagement and participation in the Society and not to any other indexical signs such as style, for example, as aspects of appearance have not been found to be associated by the participants with the category 'τσιαρλούα' or 'Κυπραία' in any of the data sets. Surely, the 'τσιαρλούες' are not denied access to the Society. What is condemned however, is their behaviour in Cyprus and their behaviour in England. In England the 'τσιαρλούες' display an extensive pre-occupation with the Society and its practices either those practices be related or non-related to culture, tradition and history; such engagement and pre-occupation contradicts their behaviour in Cyprus where the 'τσιαρλούες' oriented towards their 'englishness' as seen in the contradiction of Eugene's choice of self-identification mentioned in line 6 by Eliza. According to Eliza, Eugene who has been a student in the same school as Eliza (and had known each other for years), referred to herself as Eugene while at school, maintaining the English pronunciation of her name, while when she came to England (when socializing with Cypriot members of the Society) she referred to herself as Ευγενία, which is a transfiguration of the name Eugene in Greek.

The choice of wording in line 3, allows for claims that invocation of an English-Cypriot identity or of a solely Cypriot identity, is a matter of choice for the 'τσιαρλούες'. It is implied that they choose to identify with one of the two identities according to changing circumstances. The nationality 'English-Cypriot' appears to be enough reason for the Greek Cypriot members to define members as 'τσιαρλούες', without the impact of language playing a vital role as seen in previous extracts (7.13 and 7.14). Despite the fact that Eugene is very fluent in Greek, her English origin puts her in position of being classified as 'τσιαρλούα'.

During the interview with Eugene, she referred to some of her friends as ‘τσιαρλούες’.

Extract 7.17

Question: ‘You mentioned the word ‘τσιαρλούες’ earlier on. Can you describe what the term means?’

Participant: RES11: Eugene, 21 year old female, Society’s 2010/2011 Fresher’s Director

1. Eugene: Ε μια εντάξει εν παράξενο ας πούμε εγω ήρτα που την Κύπρο=
 2. Valentina: =Hmhm=
 3. Eugene: = τζιαι είμαι Αγγλία τωρά. Εμένα οι φίλες μου τούτες ας πούμε βρίσκουν
 4. με typical Κυπραία φάση, οτι είμαι Κυπραία =
 5. Valentina: = Ok =
 6. Eugene: =Πάω στην Κύπρο τζιαι είμαι τσιαρλούα =
 7. Valentina: = O(h)k
 8. Eugene: επειδή εμεγάλωσα Αγγλία. Άρα για μένα εν ηξέρω τι είμαι πλέον.
 9. Valentina: Hm, hm
 10. Eugene: Ντάξει οι τσιαρλούες, εννοώ ας πούμεν που τα Αγγλικά τους είναι πολύ
 11. καλύτερα απο τα Ελληνικά τους, ή που ξέρουν λίγα Ελληνικά τσιαι οτι ας πούμεν η
 12. νοοτροπία τους είναι λίγο διαφορετική επειδή εμεγαλώσαν Αγγλία.
 13. Valentina: Hm, hm
 14. Eugene: Αλλά ντάξει έχουν ας πούμεν the basic- ας πούμε τα fundamental principles
 15. of the Greek cultur- μέστο σπίτι, ετσι μεγάλωσαν απλά κάποια πράγματα είναι
 16. διαφορετικά.
-
1. Eugene: *Em yes it is weird for me now, for example I came from Cyprus=*
 2. Valentina: *=Hmhm=*
 3. Eugene: *= and I am in England now. These friends (Charlies) consider me to be a*
 4. *typical Cypriot, that I am Cypriot=*
 5. Valentina: *= Ok =*
 6. Eugene: *=I go in Cyprus and I am a Charlie =*
 7. Valentina: *= O(h)k*
 8. Eugene: *because I was raised in England. So I don’t know what I am anymore.*
 9. Valentina: *Hm, hm*
 10. Eugene: *Okay the Charlies, whose English are much better than their*
 11. *Greek, or (the Charlies) that know just a few Greek and their*
 12. *mentality is a bit different because they were raised in England.*
 13. Valentina: *Hm, hm*
 14. Eugene: *But okay they have the basic- they have the fundamental principles*
 15. *of the Greek cultur- in the house, that’s how they were raised; it’s just that some*
 16. *things are different.*

(Dataset B, 26/09/10, Interview K)

The fact that Eugene talks about herself in trying to define the term perhaps indicates a realization that other people in the Society and generally Cypriots identify her as being one of the ‘τσιαρλούες’ as shown in line 6. She notes however that her English-Cypriot friends view her as ‘Κυπραία’ (Greek-Cypriot), while in Cyprus she is treated as a ‘τσιαρλούα’. Being identified as ‘τσιαρλούα’ stems from the fact that

she was born and raised in England and is therefore considered an English national. An interesting point found in Eugene's answer is the issue of belonging and self-identification. In line 8, Eugene states 'Άρα για μένα εν ηξέρω τι είμαι πλέον.' ('So for me, I don't know what I am anymore'). Based on the categorizations attributed to her identity, it appears that Eugene feels herself to be situated in between the two normally recognized categories describing her ethnicity 'English' and 'Cypriot' (Mackridge, 2009:9) in that there is implied conformity to both of the categories; on the one hand 'επειδή εμεγάλωσα Αγγλία' (line 8) shows some kind of understanding and realization that 'η νοοτροπία είναι λίγο διαφορετική' (line 12) while on the other hand 'εγω ήρτα που την Κύπρο' (line 1) indicates a recognition of the effect of her living in Cyprus for the past 10 years might have for identity formation. Her take on 'τσιαρλούες' involves category-implied activities found in previous extracts in that she makes relevant that people categorized as such, are people whose competency in English is better than their competency in Greek or people whose competency in Greek is limited. She stresses however, that such individuals have the fundamental principles of the Greek culture. As previously stated, Eugene is fluent in Greek and despite making reference to language issues her account of why she is considered to be 'τσιαρλούα' is because she was raised in England ('επειδή εμεγάλωσα Αγγλία') and not so much on her ability to speak Greek.

It goes without saying that English Cypriot members cannot be said to be having similar competencies in Greek. Indeed, as shown both in extract 7.15 where Eugene functions as a translator and in extract 7.12 where she is characterized as being one of the good ones (line 34: αναλόγως η Eugene εν που τες καλές), Eugene is considered to have the highest competency in Greek language amongst the 'τσιαρλούες'. It seems that English-Cypriot members with high competency in Greek language use can be said to be more smoothly integrated into the group. For example, Eugene acts as the link between Greek-Cypriot members and English-Cypriots as she was found (participant observation) to be the only English Cypriot who socializes most with the Greek-Cypriot members of the Society. When Eugene was asked to explain the reasons she chose to become a member of the Cypriot Society, she talked about playing a part in attracting English Cypriot members in the Society.

Extract 7.18

Question: Why did you choose to become a member in this particular Society?

Participant: RES11: Eugene, 21 year old female, Society's 2010/2011 Fresher's Director

1. Αλλά τζιαι με άτομα ας πούμε που εμεγάλωσαν Αγγλία αλλά οι γονείς
 2. τους εν Κυπραίιοι, έσκει πάρα πολλά άτομα που εν έτσι. Ας πούμε έχω
 3. 6 φίλες μου ας πούμε που το HEI που είναι όλες έτσι ας πούμε. [...]
 4. Τσιαι ήμουν σίγουρη οτι ήταν να βρω άλλους τσιαι ήθελα να τους φέρω τζιαι
 5. τζιεινους μεσ' τον όμιλο λίο γιατί νομίζω οτι νοιώθουν λίο εκτός τσιεινοι.
-
1. [=But also there are numerous people that grew up in England but their
 2. parents are Cypriot. For example i have six friends of mine from HEI whose
 3. background is similar to what I described [...]. And I was sure that I would
 4. find other people such as these and I wanted to bring them in Society because
 5. I think they feel a bit left out.]

(Dataset B, 26/09/10, Interview K)

Eugene's statement 'ήταν να βρω άλλους τσιαι ήθελα να τους φέρω τζιαι τζιεινους μεσ' τον όμιλο λίο γιατί νομίζω οτι νοιώθουν λίο εκτός τσιεινοι' (I was going to find more people like that and I wanted to bring them in as well because I think they feel a bit as outsiders) reflects a positioning which Eugene takes up towards the Society. She places herself in a position of being in a boundary trajectory who wants to pull other people in. The duality in Eugene's nationality (English Cypriot) allows her to span across the boundaries of both the Greek Cypriot Society and the community of her English Cypriot friends, as well as to link the two communities (Wenger, 1998:154). Surely, what grants her this legitimacy and this ability to move across boundaries is her fluency in Greek (for the case of the Cypriot Society) and her fluency in English (for the case of her English Cypriot friends). In relation to this are connections which can be drawn between the fieldwork notes (see extract 7.15) and extracts from Angela's interview. For example Angela admits that a) her Greek is really bad (extract 7.11), b) that her close friend is Eugene (extract 7.19) and c) that despite the formation of cliques within the Society she still attends the events because she has her own friendship groups there (extract 7.20).

Extract 7.19

Question: Can you name your friends?

Participant: RES12: Angela, 20 year old female, member of the Society

1. Eugene who I obviously live with.

(Dataset B, 26/09/10, Interview L)

Extract 7.20³⁸

Question: ‘You said you feel that there are cliques. Could you tell me then why is it that you attend the events despite this realization?’

Participant: RES12: Angela, 20 year old female, member of the Society

1. Because I’ve got my own friends in the Society that I don’t feel like that with
2. and they go and I still enjoy it with them

(Dataset B, 26/09/10, Interview L)

During the ‘Games Night’ (see extract 7.15) Eugene appears to be sitting with Angela, for whom she later on translates numbers from Greek to English. The fact that Angela does not know Greek, limits the possibilities of extensive interactions with Greek-Cypriot members, and as she states in extract 7.20, she socializes with her own group of friends with whom she does not feel isolated. Hence, Eugene functions as a link between the Greek-Cypriot and English Cypriot members, in that she makes the English-Cypriot members feel welcome, and grants them access to resources such as language through her role as translator. Eugene’s multimembership is translated into practice through her brokering work which is enabled through the process of translation, the linking of practices by enabling interactions and alignment between perspectives (Wenger, 1998:109). Eugene’s brokering work spans the Society and a group of English Cypriots. Considering that Eugene’s access to both of the communities’ resources yields enough legitimacy for her to be listened to, is what makes membership possible. Eugene’s good command of Greek on the one hand and English on the other grants her enough legitimacy to be included in both groups. Legitimacy granted to Eugene by Society members is confirmed by the fact that Eugene has been elected ‘Fresher’s Director’ for the 2010/2011 academic year.

The English Cypriot members that have become members of the Society, may not necessarily orient to the identity-ascription occasioned by the rest of the Society members. The ‘τσιαρλούες’ may orient to their ‘Cypriotness’ by engaging in the Society’s practices. Through their choice to engage with other members in the Society’s practices, English-Cypriot members can be said to be identifying with the Greek-Cypriot student identity that the Society promotes, as their association of experience of participation with what they are, becomes crucial for identity formation.

³⁸ The extract is part of Angela’s reply to the question: ‘You said you feel that there are cliques. Could you tell me then why is it that you attend the events despite this realization?’

In a sense there appears to be a tension for the ‘τσιαρλούες’ between self-positioning as Cypriots and being positioned by others as ‘τσιαρλούες’. In relation to this is the extract below in which Eugene supports that the Society has offered her the possibility to meet other people from Cyprus.³⁹

Extract 7.21

Question: Has your membership in the Society offered you the opportunity to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?

Participant: RES11: Eugene, 21 year old female, Society’s 2010/2011 Fresher’s Director

1. Eugene: Ναι ναι σίγουρα ας πούμε, επειδή δεν θα τους γνώριζα αλλιώς =
 2. Valentina: =Hm,hm=
 3. Eugene: = Εννοώ οι Κυπριαί- επειδή μεσ’ το law ας πούμεν έχει, δύο εγώ και ο
 4. Νικόλας
 5. Valentina: Α, ναι, [ναι, ναι]
 6. Eugene: [Είμαστε] οι μόνοι που είμαστε που την- ντάξει και η Angie
 7. ας πούμε, που την Κύπρο, και οι άλλοι- είναι αλλο τρείς τσιαρλού(η)ες ας
 8. πούμεν.
 9. Valentina: Ok
 10. Eugene: Ας πούμεν εν θα- εν είχε- There would be no way που θα γνώριζα
 11. άλλους Κυπραίους που άλλα τμήματα του HEI νομίζω αν μεν ήταν για το
 12. Cypriot Society εν θα ήξερα οτι υπήρχαν επειδή που ήταν να τους δώ.
-
1. Eugene: Yes, yes, definitely because I would not have met them otherwise =
 2. Valentina: =Hm,hm=
 3. Eugene: = I mean the Cypriots- because in law school there only two, me and
 4. Nicholas
 5. Valentina: Oh, yes, [yes, yes]
 6. Eugene: [We are] the only ones that are from- okay and Angela
 7. as well, that are from Cyprus and the others- there are three more
 8. Charl(h)ies.
 9. Valentina: Ok
 10. Eugene: I mean it woudn’t- it didn’t- there would be no way I would meet other
 11. Cypriots from other HEI departments; I think that if it wasn’t for the Cypriot
 12. Society I wouldn’t know they were here because I would not have seen them.

(Dataset B, 26/09/10, Interview K)

In this extract Eugene in line 3 makes a self-identification of being one of the two Cypriot students studying law and further supports it in line 7. Firstly she categorizes herself as being a Cypriot national and then exemplifies by saying that she, Nicholas and Angie come from Cyprus. In this way, her self-identification as a Cypriot justifies her involvement in and engagement with the practices of the Cypriot Society; she chooses to engage with people who are similar with what she is. Eugene appears

³⁹ The answer was triggered by the question: ‘Has your membership in the Society allowed you to socialize with other people from Cyprus?’

to be orienting to an inhabited identity rather than the identity she has been ascribed with.

In a similar vein, Angela seems to be orienting to an identity she inhabits as a Cypriot person from Limassol. When asked about the gains of being a member in the Cypriot Society, Angela states that she is able to see differences between Cypriots from different towns.

Extract 7.22

Question: What does being a member buy you as a person?

Participant: RES12: Angela, 20 year old female, member of the Society

1. Angela: = So, and the biggest comparison I have to say is like Limassol and Nicosia.
2. Valentina: Ok
3. Angela: So am from Limassol you know people from Nicosia do things a bit
4. differently, and they are different from us.

(Dataset B, 26/09/10, Interview L)

In lines 3-4, Angela indicates that she comes from Limassol and places herself in position in which she is able to distinguish between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Her use of ‘they’ refers to people from Nicosia and her use of ‘us’ refers to people from Limassol. Angela moves beyond merely placing herself as a Cypriot national to self-identify as a resident of Limassol. Because of that, she presents herself here as being able and having the legitimacy to draw comparisons between two local towns in Cyprus. Members’ self-identifications can be said to be the basis on which engagement in Society practices is legitimated. As follows, there seems to be a distinction between ascribed identities and members’ inhabited identities. The category ‘τσιαρλούες’ is a categorical identity ascribed by others on the basis of particular performing-acts related to this category (Blommaert, 2005:206). On the other hand, the English-Cypriot members carry with them the capacity for articulating inhabitable group identities, which in this case is the identity of a ‘Cypriot’ (Blommaert, 2005). Such articulation of the category ‘Cypriot’ as an inhabited identity by the ‘τσιαρλούες’ is evident in Eugene’s candidature for the position of Fresher’s Director below.

Extract 7.23

Description: Eugene’s application for the position of the 2010/11 Fresher’s Director

Participant: RES11: Eugene, 21 year old female, Society’s 2010/2011 Fresher’s Director

1. To whom it may concern,
2. My name is Eugenie Papadopoulos and I am a second year law student at

3. HEI. I am applying for the position of Fresher's Director **since I am**
4. **Cypriot** and therefore have a good connection with anyone coming from
5. Cyprus.

(Dataset A, March 2010, Manifesto E-mail J)

In her candidature, Eugene explicitly defines herself as a member of the particular ethnic group. Her statement 'I am Cypriot' in lines 3-4 is a direct self-positioning. Interestingly, the use of the conjunction 'since' connects her self-identification as Cypriot with both her engagement in the Society and her right to apply to the Cypriot Society. In a sense Eugene's self-identification as a Cypriot grants her legitimacy to engage with the Society's practices and even more apply for a position in the Committee.

Identification with particular identities appears to be influenced by the processes of participation and reification. Within the process of reification, English-Cypriot members are being 'identified as' 'τσιπαλούδες'. Participation requires interaction as it 'generates short-cuts to coordinated meanings that reflect our enterprises' (Wenger, 1998:66). Limited or lack of language fluency in Greek impedes on interaction for the English-Cypriot members. On the one hand, English-Cypriot members are given access to interact with people they identify with as being similar, while on the other hand they have restricted access to language and tools for engagement. Therefore lack of coordinated meanings and shared experience as parts of engagement result in lack of mutuality and relations of marginality. When Cypriot members focus their attention on a particular aspect or characteristic of the English-Cypriot members, that very focus seems to shape their understanding or perception of who these members are.

This finding goes in line with Paolillo's findings (1999) in his study of language variation in Internet Relay Chat. Paolillo highlighted that language use on both micro and macro levels, depends on the embedding on individuals in specific networks (Bergs, 2006:7). Similarly, the present analysis highlights that members identify themselves as being part of the community by social network ties actualised through interaction but most importantly through their use of specific sociolinguistic variables. In detail, Greek language use becomes the resource through which members are able to identify themselves as being part of a specific social group and develop ties with people that speak the Greek language. Despite the fact that Paolillo (1999) rightfully

stresses that use of specific linguistic variables is not necessarily predicted by network tie strength, but rather provides clues to their interpretation, in the case of the Greek-Cypriot Society the relationship between tie strength and use of Greek was rather straightforward. The ‘τσιαρλούες’ (Charlies) were found to hold weak ties with other Society members due to their lack of knowledge of the Greek language; the Charlies are in peripheral position vis-à-vis the Society due lack of resources and in extent they do not engage in frequent interaction with other members who speak Greek, finally resulting in weakened-tie relationships.

Ethnic identification with particular groups becomes relevant not only in relations of difference but also in relations based on commonalities. Assuming the identity of Greek-Cypriots, the members are able to identify with national identity at a more localized level; that of identification with identities related to characteristics/differences of people coming from different regions in Cyprus.

7.4 You are what you speak: Constructing Greek-Cypriot regional Identities.

While it is true that the ethnically related character of the Society largely defines the Society’s practices and is what fosters mutual engagement of the members, it also becomes relevant in member interactions. It must be admitted however that it is not only based on ethnic labelling as in the case of ‘τσιαρλούες’ but is also linked with language use as a characteristic of categories assuming different identities. More precisely, identifications are made at the level at which particular language uses are linked to different regions in Cyprus. The extract below shows how varied pronunciations of the word ‘τσάντα’, meaning handbag, can bring to the fore identities related to particular ways of using language. The extract is part of a casual talk recording between Adrienne, Eliza and Valentina.

Extract 7.24

Description: Eliza, Valentina and Adrienne were having coffee in Eliza’s halls of residence. Valentina was talking about a barbeque she attended at the school where she works when Adrienne warns Valentina that her cigarette ashes were going to fall on her bag.

Participants: Eliza (Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 Treasurer), Adrienne (Society’s 2008/09 PR and Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President) and Valentina (researcher).

1. Adrianne: Εν τω μεταξύ, πρόσεχε εν να πέσει ο σταχτός σου πά' στην τσιάντα
2. σου.
3. Eliza: [Hahahah]
4. Valentina:[Τσιάντα εσύ!]
5. Adrianne: Ε τσιάντα, τι θέλεις να [σου πω;]
6. Eliza: [Είμαι η] Adrianne, είμαι Λεμεσσιανή τσια
7. τσιάντα.
8. Adrianne: [Ναι]
9. Valentina: [Εσεις] στην Λευκωσία εν να που το λαλείτε τσέντα;
10. Eliza: Τσέντα λαλείτε οι Παφίτισσες [να σε παρακαλέσω.]
11. Valentina: [Τζιαι συ πως την] λαλείς
12. [κυρία καλαμαρού;]
13. Adrianne: [Οι στην Λευκωσία λέν την τσέντα], αγόρασα μιαν
14. [τσέντα Louis Vuitton]
15. Eliza: [↑Εν θα του πω] φέρ'
16. μου την τσέντα μου που τζιαμέ. Εν να του πό φέρ' μου την τσάντα μου ας
17. πούμε. Τι εννοεις; (..) [Πως την είδες;]
18. Adrianne: [Ε το τσάντα] εν καλαμαρίστικο. Τι εννοείς τσάντα;
19. Ούλλοι Λευκωσιάτες εν τσέντα που λέουν. =
20. Eliza: Εν λέουν τσέντα, εκτός αν εν οι άνθρωποι με τους οποίους
21. συναναστρέφεται εσύ δεσποινίς και γι' αυτό.
22. Adrianne: Μπορεί, παίζει

1. Adrianne: By the way, watch it your cigarette ashes are going to go on your
2. tsianda (=bag)
3. Eliza: [Hahahah]
4. Valentina:[Tsianda!]
5. Adrianne: Tsianda yeah, what do you want me [to tell you;]
6. Eliza: [I am] Adrianne, I am
7. from Limassol and tsianda
8. Adrianne: [Yes]
9. Valentina: [You] people in Nicosia you call it what, tsenda?
10. Eliza: Tsenda it's you Paphians that say it, [please.]
11. Valentina: [And how do you] say it
12. [Mrs. Kalamarou (=Greek lady);]]
13. Adrianne: [No they do say it tsenda in Nicosia], I bought a
14. [Louis Vuitton tsenda]
15. Eliza: [↑I am not going to tell] him
16. bring me my tsenda from there. I am going to say bring me my tsanda for god
17. sake. What are you saying? (..) [Are you out of your mind?]
18. Adrianne: [Yes but tsanda] is kalamaristiko
19. (=Greek-like). What do you mean you call it tsanda? All the Nicosians call it
20. tsenda.=
21. Eliza: They don't say tsenda, unless it is the people you socialise with miss and
22. that's why.
23. Adrianne: Maybe, it could be.

(Dataset C, 07/05/09, Recording C).

In line 1, Adrianne's use of the word 'τσιάντα' (handbag) triggers Eliza's laughter in line 2 and Valentina's comment 'τσιάντα εσύ' (handbag, you). Eliza's laughter and

Valentina's overlapping comment indicate that what has triggered those is Adrienne's pronunciation of the word 'τσιάντα'. The comment 'τσιάντα εσύ' can be said as a way to challenge Adrienne's pronunciation of the word in that it functions as a way of saying 'how can you pronounce it like that'. This is further evident in Adrienne's justification in line 3, by saying 'Well 'handbag' what do you want me to say?'. Despite the fact that, on the basis of Adrienne's sayings in line 3, one can justifiably assume that Adrienne's use is such simply because it is her default way of pronouncing the word. However, it seems that Adrienne might be making a choice in that all three variations of the word handbag appearing in the extract, form part of Adrienne's repertoire, in one way or another. Therefore, through style-shifting Adrienne manages to performatively enact her identity as a person from Limassol (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2005:175, Johnstone, 1999:506). Notably, the extent to which this style-shift is attributed to the fact that she strategically positions herself as a person from Limassol or whether this is attributed to the fact that using any other pronunciation would be a marked choice for her, appears to be difficult to distinguish. I am assuming that this use is somewhat automatic when it first occurs. However, its recurrence in line 4 appears to be a self-conscious choice in that after being teased Adrienne persists with her use and does not provide an alternative version of the word which she has available in her repertoire.

In line 5, Eliza takes the floor to provide a connection between the member's category 'Λεμεσιανή' and the particular way of pronouncing the word 'τσιάντα', indicating that such featuring of language is iconic of its associative category. Eliza ascribes a category-implied activity, such as the pronunciation of the word in such manner, to people from Limassol, where Adrienne comes from. Valentina's subsequent question in line 8 and her use 'you' in 2nd person plural both of the personal pronoun and verb shows that despite not explicitly categorizing Eliza as a 'Nicosian', she places her in that very category. Additionally, Valentina's suggestion of the word 'τσέντα' is serving two functions: a) assumption that the word could be pronounced in such a way in Nicosia and b) she makes relevant her own use of the word as a Paphian. Evidently, the latter case is what guides explicit reference of the word in the particular pronunciation as Eliza in line 9 categorizes Valentina as a 'Pafian'.

In lines 12-13 Adrienne stylizes her use of the word 'τσέντα' in performing a Nicosian and draws an interesting correlation between language use, Nicosia and a

famous brand associated with handbags, Louis Vuitton. By using ‘τσέντα’ Adrienne provides a marked representation of language use that lies outside her habitual repertoire (Rampton, 2009: 149). What is more, making relevant the brand Louis Vuitton while stylizing the imagined Nicosian appears to be a move relying on an ideological construction indicating her apprehension of high/low stratification (Rampton, 2009:170). Favoured by geographical location, economic prosperity from Venetian rule onwards and the centre of government institutions and officials, the capital of Cyprus, Nicosia, is associated with the higher social strata (Terkourafi, 2005:333). In this way, making relevant a handbag brand that is noticeably expensive in performing a Nicosian, Adrienne manages to index prevailing ideologies about the accumulation of elites in the capital. There is a great deal of reflexivity associated with macro levels of indexicality; knowledge that the Nicosia district has dominated the urban system, by proposing ‘τσέντα’ which maintains the original SMG sound of double consonants, Adrienne is associating the use with Cypriot koiné which emerged in Nicosia. To put it simply, pronunciations approaching SMG pronunciations are associated both with higher social strata and the capital which centralizes to a great extent economic, educational and government functions (Terkourafi, 2005:334).

Interestingly, Eliza in line 15 contradicts Adrienne’s statement by providing the word ‘τσάντα’ as the pronunciation of the word used by the people in Nicosia, which is the SMG form. Adrienne seems to withdraw from her claims in the last line (line 25) on the grounds that Eliza being from Nicosia, has the knowledge to affirm the pronunciation used for the particular word in Nicosia. Adrienne can also be said to be abandoning her argument and giving validity to Eliza’s claim, due to background assumptions about the widely held recognition in Cyprus that the form of the Mesaoria/Nicosia dialect forms the basis of the koiné (Tsiplakou et al., 2006: 267, cf. Newton, 1972). In essence ideological constructs in play here, place the emergence of the koiné which flourished in the Nicosia district at the higher level of a prestige continuum of variation in language use.

The member categorizations and dialect stylizations above can be said to function as assessments, in that the interlocutors’ knowledge about forms of language used by speakers of different/particular identities, becomes a resource for meaning making and indexing of particular identities (Kiesling, 2006:265). In a similar vein, the two following extracts between interlocutors coming from different regions of Cyprus (Extracts 7.25 and 7.26). In the first instance, Adrienne and Valentina engage in an

exchange of comments about the use of the word ‘ksatimasw’ (= swear at someone) in Valentina’s Facebook Status.

Extract 7.25

Description: Adrienne’s post to Valentina’s Facebook Wall

Participant: Adrienne, 20 year old female, Society’s 2008/09 PR/Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President and Valentina (researcher)

Status Update: Valentina Christodouloupoion na ksatimasw simera arage.....?????
01 April 2009 at 12:32

Comments:

2.Nearchos

neurakia neurakia...eee pantos en 8elo name ego :P

01 April 2009 at 12:53

3. Andrea Giorga

to rima ine ksitimazw oi ksatimazw agapiti :P alla mporei stis pafous etsi na to lete.
ok nomizw en emena pou en na 3itimaseis after all.

01 April 2009 at 13:22

4.Valentina Christodoulou

no you are right...eis tis paphous etsi einai...xaxaxaxa!!!!

01 April 2009 at 15:09

Status Update: Valentina Christodouloui wonder to whom I should swear at
today.....??????

01 April 2009 at 12:32

Comments:

2.Nearchos

Tantrums tantrums...eee I don’t want it to be me :P

01 April 2009 at 12:53

3. Andrea Giorga

The verb is ‘ksitimazw’ (swear) and not ‘ksatimzw’ (swear) dear :P but perhaps
that’s how you people call it in Paphos. ok I think that it is me you are going to swear
at after all.

01 April 2009 at 13:22

4.Valentina Christodoulou

no you are right...that’s how we say it in Paphos...xaxaxaxa!!!!

01 April 2009 at 15:09

(Dataset D, 01/04/09, Thread K)

In the above example Valentina posts in her status a question ‘poion na ksatimasw simera arage.....??????’ (‘I wonder to whom I should swear at today?????’). Nearchos who is Valentina’s friend comments on her post by wondering whether she

is stressed. In post 3 Adrianne clarifies that the word is not ‘ksatimazw’ but ‘ksitimazw’⁴⁰ and moves on to clarify that perhaps her correction might not be valid as the particular word used by Valentina may be a variant of the word she introduces. Adrianne in a sense justifies her comment and limits the possibility of the comment being considered as a face-threatening act by Valentina. By making relevant Valentina’s place of origin (Paphos) as a justification for Valentina’s use of the word in such a way, Adrianne avoids threatening Valentina’s negative face (cf. Sifianou, 2000:32-33). Valentina in post 4, neither challenges Adrianne’s proposition of the word ‘ksitimazw) nor the category-implied activity of ‘being from Paphos’. Quite the opposite, Valentina acknowledges Adrianne’s use of the word as a variant that perhaps appears in such form in Adrianne’s repertoire, in that Valentina at the time knew that Adrianne was from Limassol. What is more Valentina explicitly self-identifies as a Paphian, which in extent justifies her use of the word in such a manner.

One additional example of the ways in which the use of particular forms of language can become the basis of identification with regional identities, is the discussion below between three members of the Society’s Committee and a former Committee member. John is telling Alexandros that he smoked two packs of cigarettes the night before as he was stressed out. Meni’s question about the amount of packs of cigarettes that John smokes results in Gyula and John bursting into laughter.

Extract 7.26

Description: During lunch on-campus the three members are discussing about events organized by other Cypriot Societies and possible collaborations. In this instance John is referring to a fight with his girlfriend that caused him great stress that resulted in him smoking too many cigarettes the previous night.

Participants: Gyula (21 year old male, Society’s 2008/09 Fresher’s Director and 2009/10 Treasurer), Meni (23 year old male, former committee member), John (21 year old male, Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 PR/Events Officer).

1. John: [Ημουν πολλά αγχωμέ-] ήπια θκυό πακκέττα εχτές.
2. Alexandros: [Εν να που με ενδιαφέρει] Θκυό
3. πακκέττα ρε μα χάννεις;
4. Gyula: Που 40;
5. John: Αλλά κανονικά πίνω μισό προς ένα, δηλαδή τρία κάρτα.
6. Meni: Που τα πίνει ρε τούτος τα πακέττα;
7. Gyula: Πακέττα, χα, χα, χα.
8. John: Χα, χα, χα θκυό baguette. Ε φίλε

⁴⁰ The variant offered by Andrianne - ‘ksitimazw’ (ξητιμάζω) – stems from the archaic verb εξατιμάζω (eksatimazo), which means swear at. The past tense of the verb is εξητίμασα (eksitimasa). As can be seen the difference here lies on the use of the verb in a different tense. The prefix e- is dropped.

1. John: [I was too stressed-] I smoked two *pakketta* (packs) of cigarettes.
2. Alexandros: [And why would I care] Two packs?
3. Are you crazy?
4. Gyula: What? 40?
5. John: But I usually smoke half a *pakketto* (pack) to one, i.e. three quarters of
6. the *pakketto*(pack).
7. Meni: Where does he smoke the *paketta* (packs)?
8. Gyula: *Paketta* (packs), Ha,ha, ha.
9. John: Ha, ha, ha two baguette. Dude!
10. Alexandros: Two [are you crazy?]
11. John: [What the-], I am serious I smoked two *pakketta* (packs)
12. Alexandros: So what do you do, you idiot, do you smoke two by two each
13. time?
14. John: Ha, ha, ha.

(Dataset C, 13/10/09, Recording B)

When John states that he smoked two packs of cigarettes, he uses the word ‘πακκέττα’. Alexandros disapproves the amount of cigarettes John smokes, with the use of the word ‘πακκέττα’ in his question as well. The pronunciation of packet in this two cases is an instance of gemination⁴¹, a characteristic feature of the Cypriot Greek dialect (Terkourafi, 2005). In a similar manner Meni in line 6 wonders about the possibility of John having to smoke two packs of cigarette a day however using the word ‘πακέττα’ without the phenomenon of gemination occurring. In line 7 Gyula laughs at Meni while John in line 8 produces the word baguette, a phonetically similar word to Meni’s ‘πακέττα’, which sounds funny and therefore the laughter. In neither of the two cases (John and Gyula) is Meni corrected, as it is not taken that Meni’s utterance is a mistaken spelling/pronunciation of the word. The reason for laughter is because the word sounds odd for the other two participants, again based on their place of origin. This can be explained by the fact that Meni is from Limassol and it is widely known that people from Limassol have a different variation of the word ‘πακκέττα’. Laughter is the result of people from another city finding Meni’s articulation at odds with the norm, as John, Gyula and Alexandros are all from Nicosia.

Variation in terms of pronunciation was made relevant in all the examples presented above. Pronunciation appears to be one of the few intelligible aspects of

⁴¹ Gemination refers to instances in speech when a consonant is pronounced for an audibly longer period of time than a short consonant.

regional variation in Cyprus. As Terkourafi notes, ‘regional variation across the island is mainly observed in segmental and suprasegmental phonology, with native speakers commenting on how inhabitants of other areas *sirnun tin foni* “drawl their voices” or pronounce some words differently’, adding however that syntax acts as a unifying factor between such varieties (Terkourafi, 2005:19). Variation in pronunciation seems to be connected to people inhabiting particular regions, and in defining an individual’s identity. In the above examples, the issue of pronunciation was made relevant and was recognized as a category-related activity. Surely, that is not to mean that such member categorizations impede either on communication or the formation of close relations among members. Extensive interactional encounters and mutual intelligibility between speakers of the contributing varieties of Cypriot Greek promote the formation of a common identity (Terkourafi, 2005:16). Being a Nicosian or Paphian does not seem to result in differentiated membership, but rather categorizations such as these indicate recognition of specific characteristics as part of an individual’s identity. The main issue to be taken into account is that besides any teasing going on in interactions (as seen in the extracts) participants’ presentation and representation of themselves is projected through choices from a repertoire of linguistic resources and of an inventory of more or less compatible identities that intersect with each other (De Fina, 2007:59).

Categorizations linked to particular regional varieties form part of the linguistic landscape of Cyprus. Ethnographic work on the particular Society suggests that choices of a particular linguistic form over another do not necessarily mark difference between the speaker and recipient in a broader sphere. Linguistic choices that might index an individual’s linguistic background mark the interaction locally without any differentiations being attributed to broader aspects of the self, such as ethnic identity. In doing ‘being Λεμεσσιανή’ the speaker is at the same time doing ‘being Κυπραία’. To put it simply, the very awareness of and commenting on these regional differences contributes to the construction of a shared ethnic/national identity.

Shared culture and language are elements defining the identity of both the members and the Society. However, when it comes to the relationship of the Cypriot Society with the Greeks and the Hellenic society of the HEI, the case is rather different. Distinctions made between mainland Greeks and Greek-Cypriots are based both on the issue of language use and larger ideologies of difference.

7.5 ‘We might be the same but we are different’: Being Cypriot is not being Greek

Particular language use can be depicted by members as non-natural and can be connected to a distinction between ethnic and national identity. More precisely, despite the fact that Standard Modern Greek is part of the participants’ linguistic repertoire, its use is considered unnatural for interaction between Cypriot nationals. The extract below, shows Valentina and Adrianne picking on Eliza’s language as something ‘out of place’.

Extract 7.27

Description: Three girls are having coffee at Eliza’s halls of residence. Their discussion revolves around the outcome of the Society elections, teasing, friendship and the Charlies. The discussion below follows Valentina’s description of her day having barbeque at the school where she works.

Participants: Eliza (Society’s 2007/08 Fresher’s Director and 2008/09 Treasurer), Adrianne (Society’s 2008/09 PR and Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President) and Valentina (researcher).

1. Eliza: Αυτά είναι
 2. Adrianne: Τι σ’ έπιασε αυτο το ‘αυτά είναι’ εσένα, τι εν τούτη η κατάσταση;
 3. Eliza: Εκόλλησεν μου το ενας φίλος μου καλαμαράς
 4. Adrianne: Εγίνηκες μας καλαμαρού έσαι εδώ και ενα δύο μήνες.
 5. Valentina: Ναι εν τω μεταξύ άμαν-
 6. Adrianne: -Πολλύ πολλύν ποτούτο
 7. Valentina: Άμα-
 8. Adrianne: -Σύρνει μου κάτ:ι-
 9. Eliza: -Εν να που να κάμω, αφού οι συμφοιτητές μου εν καλαμαρούες, οι φίλοι
 10. τους καλαμαράδες, ε ούλλοι μεσ’ το Μυθόπολις καλαμαράδες εε εντάξει.
 11. Valentina: Πρέπει να κάμνεις accommodation friend.
-
1. Eliza: *This is it*
 2. Adrianne: *What’s up with you and this ‘this is it’, what is this issue now?*
 3. Eliza: *I got it from a kalamara (Greek) friend of mine*
 4. Adrianne: *You became a kalamarou (Greek girl) for one-two months now.*
 5. Valentina: *Yes by the way when-*
 6. Adrianne: *-Too much, too much*
 7. Valentina: *When-*
 8. Adrianne: *-She just throws in som:e*
 9. Eliza: *-what should I do, my classmates are kalamaoues (greek girls), their*
 10. *friends are kalamarathes (greek boys), everyone in Mythopolis are kalamarathes*
 11. *(greek) so okay.*
 12. Valentina: *You have to do accommodation friend.*

The issue is again made relevant a few minutes later when Eliza uses SMG in her sayings.

13. Eliza: **Και λέω** του εγω..
14. Adrianne: Και λέ↑ω του =
15. Valentina: = Και λέω του=

16. Adrianne: = [Και λέω του πάλε] ελα: =
 17. Valentina: [Πάλε καλαμαρίζεις]
 18. Eliza: = E! Εν να που να κάμω παιθικά φκαίνει μου επειδή ντάξει είμαι με τον
 19. Αλέξαντρο ζιαι με τον Γιάννη, τζιαι ντάξει

13. Eliza: **And I say to him..**
 14. Adrianne: *And I say to him =*
 15. Valentina: = *And I say to him =*
 16. Adrianne: = [*And I say to him again*] *come o:n =*
 17. Valentina: [*Again kalamari:zeis (you speak like Greeks)*]
 18. Eliza: = *E! What should I do guys I just do so because I am with Alecandros and*
 19. *Giannis and yeah I do.*

(Dataset C, 07/05/09, Recording C)

Eliza's use of 'αυτά είναι' in line 1, results in Adrianne's reaction in line 2. Adrianne's use of 'τι εν τούτη η κατάσταση' (what is this issue now?) places Eliza's use as 'inappropriate' and out of place, inferencing that Eliza should not be speaking in such a way as it is contrast with her presumed identity. More precisely, the verb 'to be' in SMG is 'είναι' and 'these' is 'αυτά', while in CG the verb to be is 'ένι' and the word 'these' is 'τούτα'. Therefore, Eliza, as a Greek Cypriot should be using the latter version of the words. In line 4, Adrianne provides a members-category - that of 'καλαμαρού'⁴² - placing Eliza's use as an activity related to that category of people. Notably, the use of 'εγίνηκες καλαμαρού' (You have become a Greek) as well as the inclusion of a time frame implies that Eliza's identity is recognized as something else than 'καλαμαρού' and that her use of SMG in the past few months places her in a position of being characterized as something else. Finally, in line 11 Valentina refers to Eliza's use of SMG by making reference to accommodation. There is an inference here about Eliza's usage of SMG being something that is not characteristic of her as a Greek Cypriot, as accommodation presupposes that a person has to change what or how one speaks in order to be like his/her interlocutors (Richards, Platt, Weber, 1985:1-2).

Likewise, as the discussion develops, the issue of language use is pointed out by Valentina and Adrianne (lines 13 and 14) when Eliza uses the phrase 'και λέω του' in line 12. Notably, this phrase 'και λέω του' appeared when Eliza was narrating to the girls about a conversation which she had with her Greek friend. The narration of the event was delivered in Greek as in the narration she was performing both Alexandros

⁴² The verb 'καλαμαρίζω' and the naming 'καλαμαράς' originate from the word 'καλαμάρι' which originally was 'name for the case containing the ink and quills of professional scribes, who typically came from Greece' (Terkourafi, 2005:12).

and herself speaking at the time. The girls' reaction in subsequent lines about the use of 'λέω του' is triggered by the fact that the phrase is considered to be outside the conversational frame in which SMG was used in taking on the voice of Alexandros and herself. 'Και λέω του' is considered to be a metapragmatic comment and not a voicing of the personas enacted and therefore the choice of SMG is challenged. Despite the fact that Eliza's utterances maintain the CG syntax (pronoun postposition), it is her choice of words 'και' and 'λέω' in SMG that causes the girls' reaction, as what would have gone unmarked would be 'τζαι λαλώ του'. In a sense, the girls, as users of the CG and SMG, react to pronunciation which is the most intelligible difference between the two varieties. Adrianne's use of 'πάλε' in line 15 both refers to an action previously occurring in conversation (for example line 1) and to an indirect appeal to Eliza to stop using SMG. In line 16, Valentina's use of 'πάλε' can be said to function in the same way as Adrianne's 'πάλε'. Additionally, Valentina employs a category-bound activity 'καλαμαρίζεις' which means 'speaking like a mainland Greek' and is an act characteristic of being a 'Καλαμαράς/Καλαμαρού'. In line 17, Eliza's 'Εν να που να κάμω παιθκια φκαίνει μου' is an indication that Eliza has to style-shift or even cross to the SMG in order to communicate with her Greek friends. When it comes to her relationship with them changing codes becomes a choice indicating affiliation for her interlocutors and this was evident in her recollection of events prior to this discussion.

The perception of difference between the two categories 'Greek Cypriot and 'mainland Greek' does not only occur at the level of language use, but also occurs at the level of identification as a national of the particular country.

Extract 7.28

Description: Three girls are having coffee at Eliza's halls of residence. Their discussion revolves around the outcome of the Society elections, teasing, friendship and the Charlies. The discussion below is part of the discussion on the Charlies and Alexandra who questioned the Society's non-collaboration with the Cypriot Society.

Participants: Eliza (Society's 2007/08 Fresher's Director and 2008/09 Treasurer), Andrianne (Society's 2008/09 PR and Events Officer and 2009/10 Vice President) and Valentina (researcher).

1. Eliza: Τζιαι τούτη μετά είσιεν τον ρωτήσει τύπου κάτι – εν θυμούμαι – τύπου γιατί εν
2. συνεργάζεστε – α είσιεν ένα Hellenic party νομίζω τζιέιν' τον τζιαιρόν τζιαι ρώταν
3. τον αν μπορεί να πιάει εισιτήρια που τζιέινον ας πούμεν, τέλος πάντων που το
4. Cypriot Society τζιαι τζιέινος ήταν κάπως 'έσειε λίην διαφορά το Cypriot Society που
5. το Hellenic Society τζιαι τάχα η απορία της τζιέινης ήταν γιατί εν συνεργαζόμαστε,
6. τζιαι είπεν της κάτι τύπου εν έτυχεν κάτι τέθκιο. =
7. Valentina: = Ναι =
8. Eliza: = Οπότε εν ηξέρω γιατί έχουν το ούλλοι το issue για το Hellenic =

- [illegible]

(Dataset C, 07/05/09/ Recording C)

between the two Societies, while at the same time she displays her disagreement with those beliefs and her opposition to the distinction made between the two Societies.

Surely, in the contemporary social world mobilization, contact with other groupings and the heterogeneous structure of many communities and societies the way one perceives their identity largely depends on positioning(s) they take in the social landscape. In this manner, members of the Cypriot Society can take different positionings with regards to the existence of two separate societies (Hellenic and Cypriot); positionings that are taken up in favour or against issues of difference between Greece and Cyprus at a macro level.

Extract 7.29

Description: The three girls are having coffee at their halls of residence. The three girls form a close-knit group. Prior to the discussion below, Eliza was talking about her meeting with an English-Cypriot female member, Josie. The discussion was triggered by Eliza's comments that Josie is unable to speak SMG and that Josie she holds the belief that there should not be a sense of unity between Cyprus and Greece.

Participants: Eliza (Society's 2007/08 Frsher's Director and 2008/09 Treasurer), Chrissie (Society's 2008/09 Fresher's Director) and Gabriele (Society member).

1. Chrissie: Ντάξει εγώ να σου πώ που την μια συμφωνώ να έχουμε θκυό Societies.
2. Εννοώ εν είμαστεν ε ε εν- σίγουρα νοιώθω Ελληνίδα αλλά είμαι
3. Ελληνοκύ↑πρια =
4. Eliza: = Πολλά μεγάλο θέμα τούτο τζαι απασχολεί με currently, in my current
5. αλλά anyway. Το point μου ενι όμως ότι εξαρτάται πως κάμνεις define το
6. identity σου εσυ; Ποιόν πιστεύεις ότι εν το national identity σου.
7. Πιστεύεις ότι το nationa- έπρεπε να ε- το identity σου εν national Cypriot
8. identity ή εν national Greek identity;
9. Chrissie: Ε- μμ. =
10. Eliza: = Τζαι τι- τι- τι εν η διαφορά πρέπει να κάμεις distinguish που- how you
11. define a nation, how you define a state, how you define a nation state,
12. επειδή nation εν το έθνος, τζαι μας το έθνος μας εν η Ελλάδα, therefore our
13. nationality, t! our national identity εν Greek ένεν;
14. Chrissie: Ναι επειδή obviously μιλούμεν Ελληνικά ας πούμεν, αλλά που την
15. μια είμαστε ξεχωριστό κράτος. Εννοώ-
16. Eliza: Πιστεύεις όμως ότι εν τούτος ο λόγος που έγινεν ο διαχωρισμός των
17. θκυό Societies;
18. Chrissie: Οϊ μα 'χουμεν τζι άλλες διαφορές πιστεύκω.
19. Gabriele: Φίλε εγώ εν νοιώθω ότι πρέπει να υπάρχουν θκυό Societies.
20. Eliza: Γιατί;
21. Gabriele: Εν νοιώθω οτι: ξεχωρίζει με κάτι που τους Έλληνες ή ξεχωρίζει
22. τους τζείνους κάτι που μένα
23. Chrissie: Μα τζείνοι ξέρεις το ότι θεωρούν μας, έσαι πάρα πολλούς Έλληνες
24. που μας [θεωρούν] παρείσακτους, ή που εν παν τους Κυπραίους;
25. Gabriele: [Εν ηξέρω]
26. Εν ηξέρω, εμέναν ο παπάς μου εν- εννοώ εγώ έχω Ελληνικήν
27. υπηκοότητα. Εν νοιώθω όμως επειδή εμεγάλωσα στην Κύπρο ότι
28. είμαι Κυπραία μόνο τζαι τούτον ενι.
29. Eliza: Νοιώθεις affiliated τζαι με την Ελλάδα δηλαδή.=

30. Gabriele: = Ναι: =
31. Chrissie: = Ναι μα ε- έτσι [εμεγαλώσαμεν τσιολάς]
1. *Chrissie: On the one hand I kind of agree having two societies.*
2. *I mean we are not e not– surely I feel Greek but I am*
3. *Greek↑Cypriot =*
4. *Eliza: = This is a major issue which currently troubles me, in my current*
5. *but anyway. My point is though that it depends how you define you own*
6. *identity; It's what you think your national identity is.*
7. *Do you think that your nationa- had to be- is your identity a national*
8. *Cypriot identity or national Greek identity;*
9. *Chrissie: E- em. =*
10. *Eliza: = And what-what-what the difference is you have distinguish from – how*
11. *you define a nation, how you define a state, how you define a nation state,*
12. *because nation is ethnos, and our ehtnos έθνος is Greece, therefore our*
13. *nationality, t! our national identity is Greek right;*
14. *Chrissie: Yeah because obviously we speak Greek, but on the other hand we are*
15. *a separate nation-state. I mean-*
16. *Eliza: Do you think though that this is the only reason that there is this*
17. *Differentiation between the two Societies?*
18. *Chrissie: No we have more differences I think*
19. *Gabriele: Mate I don't think there should be two Societies.*
20. *Eliza: Why?*
21. *Gabriele: I don't feel tha:t there is something distinguishes me form the Greeks or*
22. *that something distinguishes them from me.*
23. *Chrissie: But you know that they think of us as, there are a lot of Greeks*
24. *that [think of us] as or they don't like Cypriots*
25. *Gabriele: [I don't know]*
26. *I don't know, my dad is from- I mean I have Greek citizenship. I don't*
27. *feel though that because I was raised in Cyprus that I am just Cypriot*
28. *and that's it.*
29. *Eliza: You feel affiliated with Greece as well then.=*
30. *Gabriele: = Yes: =*
31. *Chrissie: = Yes but t- this is how we were raised as well.*

(Dataset C, 20/03/10, Recording D)

In lines 2-3 Chrissie claims that while she may feel that she is Greek, she self-identifies as a Greek-Cypriot, as if she were drawing a distinction between the two. By rising the pitch of the stressed syllable of the word 'Έλληνοκύ↑πρια', Chrissie makes more salient the word 'Cypriot' and in this way she manages to emphasize the second part of word (Gee, 2005:122). In lines 7-8 Eliza provides Chrissie with two available self-identifications: Chrissie will either be orienting to a national Greek identity or a national Cypriot identity. Through the complementary marker 'therefore' (line 12) Eliza marks an idea unit: 'our national identity εν Greek'. 'Therefore' can be said to have a wider discourse scope in that through its use Eliza returns to the point at which she began her account of the elements contributing to

identity formation and provides an answer to what herself has been asking Chrisie. ‘Εννεν;’ at the end of her statement can be seen as a device used to elicit agreement on what has been said. In line 14-15 Chrissie makes relevant the shared linguistic code between Greeks and Cypriots which however does not renounce the fact that Cyprus is an independent state. Chrissie differentiates her position with regards to having a Greek national identity with a ‘yes..., but...’ move. She manages to do so by contradicting nationalist ideologies that view language as a symbol of national identity with the fact that Cyprus is an independent state with citizenship claims, common laws and institutions (cf. Karoulla-Vriki, 2009). Her position vis-à-vis the separation of the two Societies is explicitly stated in line 1, made relevant in lines 14-15 and is further elaborated on in line 18. In lines 19, 21 and 22 Gabriele supports that the two Societies should be merged together, as she feels that there are no differences between Greeks and Cypriots. In line 23, Chrissie uses ‘μα’ (‘but’) to mark the contrast between the hypothetical similarity proposed by Gabriele and the actual situation (line 24), allowing her in this way to maintain her position on the separateness of the two Societies. In lines 26-28 Gabriele makes reference to her dual nationality to support her argument and justify the connection she feels with Greeks. Interestingly, Chrissie’s ‘Ναι μα ε- έτσι εμεγαλώσαμεν τσιολάς’ in line 31 can be said to be a way of expressing an acceptance and understanding of Gabriele’s positioning on the issue at matter as well as a way of making relevant beliefs and attitudes towards Greece as issues affecting perceptions of affinity.

What is brought into play in this discussion, are the two predominant discourses regarding identity formation in Cyprus, that of Cyriocentrism and Hellenocentrism. The Cyriocentric discourse promotes a view of Cyprus as a state nation (civic nation) and considers the Cypriot state identity to be the primary identity among Greek Cypriots. The Hellenocentric discourse promotes a view of Cyprus as a nation state (ethnic nation) and considers Greek ethnic identity as the primary identity among Greek Cypriots (Karoulla-Vriki, 2009: 187-189). The view of Cyprus as an independent state nation (line 15) contradicts beliefs that consider Cyprus as a nation state (lines 12-13). The influence of ethno-culturally associated language contributing to the formation of national consciousness (Karoulla-Vriki, 2009:187) is challenged (line 14) and what is brought into focus are the Greeks’ attitudes towards the Cypriot Greeks. These two contrasting nationalist ideologies (civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism) shape the perceptions and understandings of who the girls are. Ideologies

of nationalism that have shaped the political scene in Cyprus and have mediated both political consciousness and education, place the construction of a national identity in the middle of the two opposing poles of Cypriocentrism and Hellenocentrism (Mavratsas, 1999:97). Dominant ideological discourses have entered the reality of everyday consciousness of the Cypriots and shape self-identifications. The analysis suggests that despite recognition of common language, culture and tradition between Greece and Cyprus, the national identification of the members of the two Societies (Cypriot and Hellenic) seems to be shaped by ideologies that dictate (to a greater or lesser degree) differences between the two and in extent between the identities of the members.

7.6 Conclusion

The analysis in the present chapter draws attention to the relationship between D-discourses of ethnicity and cultural identity of the members that are external to the CoP but which lay a crucial part in the Society's practices and membership in the community, but also in the Society's own D-discourse about itself.

The HEI Greek-Cypriot student Society defines membership in the Society and defines its audience through the inclusion of an ethnic category in the Society's naming. Members participating in the Society base their attraction to and membership in the Society on shared language and cultural familiarity. Society practices can be seen as ways of doing in a social and historical context, giving structure and meaning to what it is that we do and who we are (Wenger, 1998).

Such practices are advertised to members through the employment of the Greek language - one of the official languages in Cyprus used for formal businesses and in writing –with a subsequent English translation. The analysis of language choice in Society e-mails exhibits a persistence of the Greek text appearing before English as well as the persistence of the sole use of Greek when it comes to culturally and historically related events. This finding indicates that linguistic repertoires are tailored to address the business at hand (Greek related to formal institutional business) as well as to enhance in-group membership by aligning language choice with the assumed identities of the members, those be Greek-Cypriots and English Cypriot members. Similarly, participant reflections on the Society practices highlighted the

fact that the Society's maintenance is based on the members' needs for cultural familiarity and common code of contact.

Connections between language use and self/group-identification were found to be the drive for engagement as well as the defining factor for legitimacy given to particular forms of membership such as full membership (in the case of Greek-Cypriot members) and partial membership (in the case of English Cypriot members). The Vignette (Section 7.2) indicated that the use of the Greek language (and most importantly Cypriot Greek) - as the readily available resource of the Greek Cypriot members - has the power to legitimate some members as well as the power to marginalize others. Ethnically related resources such as language are tools through which relations of mutual engagement can be strengthened, but as seen in the case of 'τσιαρλούες', the limited access to such results in their stigmatization, lack of mutuality and relations of marginality. Despite being ascribed as 'τσιαρλούες', the English Cypriot members self-position themselves as integrated members of the Society. Both within the interviews with Angela and Eugene and Eugene's candidature, it was found that these two English-Cypriot members steer their trajectory towards full membership as their definition of self as Cypriots gives them the legitimacy to become members of the Cypriot Society and claim a position within the Society.

Finally, different uses of regional varieties of the Cypriot Greek provided the resource for a multitude of identities locally constructed. In doing 'being Paphian' or 'being Nicosian' in interaction, members were able to reflect on their use of the dialect; the commenting on and very awareness of these regional differences contributes to the construction of a shared national identity. In contrast to the workings of regional differences as common ground, it was found that difference in the use of language variety became a source of distinction between us vs. them when it came to the use of SMG and its association with Greece. The separation of the Hellenic and Cypriot Society is the outcome of contrasting ideologies - namely Cypriocentric and Hellenocentric - that shape the perceptions and understandings of what identities each Society is representing. The use of 'καλαμαράς' and 'καλαμαρίζω' in the data, were found to be ascribed identities and categories that were oriented to in displaying relations of difference and othering. Issues of difference dominated by a Cypriocentric ideology define the Cypriot Society's

identity, presence and its distinct operation from the Hellenic Society within the HEI social space.

The issue of identity as presented in this chapter has proved to be an overarching feature in the present study as it relates not only to membership identity and practice formation (see present chapter) but also mutual engagement in practice (see chapter 4) and member relations (see chapter 5). Language (Greek) appears to be the shared resource between members allowing for engagement in practice and in-group identity; as evidenced in the analysis in the present chapter members sharing such language are able to engage more readily in action and develop links with members who share this code. These members are more readily available in developing stronger ties within the community while at the same time developing in-group identities; as follows, in-group identity as reflected through the use of language defines and characterizes strong-tie social networks (Paolillo, 1999).

CHAPTER 8:Conclusions

8. Introduction

This research set out to investigate the process of community-making of the HEI Cypriot Society and the ways in which notions such as mutual engagement, participation and communication resources are intertwined with the formation of practices and construction of group membership identities. The Greek-Cypriot student Society under study was approached through the framework of CoP and the data collected through the employment of ethnographically informed tools were analysed through the lens of interaction analysis. The key questions underlining the investigation of language and identity management across media within the Greek-Cypriot student Society are:

1. In what ways do participation and engagement inform identity articulations related to community membership?
 - a) In what ways is the construction and negotiation of membership identities influenced by relations of mutual engagement?
 - b) How are linguistic devices systematically used to make relevant identities in member interactions?
 - c) How are such articulations related to Society related roles and identities?
 - d) How are linguistic resources used to construct ethnically based categorisations?
 - e) In what ways are these categorisations shaped by membership and participation?
2. In what ways are community, identities and relations negotiated over time and across media and how do these shape communication choices?
 - e) What is the process of community-making of this community of practice and how is mediation employed in such process?
 - f) How are identities and relations between the members of this community of practice occasioned and negotiated over time, within and across different media of interactional activity?
 - g) What choices of communication mediums do members employ?

- h) How are these related to member relations and/or Society-related businesses?

The theoretical and methodological framework adopted in this work has been in crucial ways most effective as they brought to the fore an original approach for the investigation and analysis of language and identity management across media of a community of practice.

The presentation of various sociolinguistic approaches in the study of language (see section 2.2) highlighted the importance of the notion in identity construction. In investigating the process of identity construction one should pay attention to social action and the discursive work involved in its articulation and therefore a social constructivist stance was taken towards this investigation. Despite the fact that the media are integral to the full range of social practices (Markham and Baym, 2009:10) studies focusing on the ways in which social relations, identity and membership categories combine and co-articulate in complex ways across media, are scarce (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2008). Hence emphasis was placed on the analysis of the ways in which the Greek-Cypriot community engages in interactional activity in different media sites and the ways in which such activities are related to the community's practices.

The review of identity and community relevant research highlighted the usefulness of the CoP theoretical model chosen for the investigation of the Greek-Cypriot student Society. The framework, which proposes a group of people to be mutually engaging in a joint enterprise in the process of which they develop a shared repertoire, gave access to the analysis of the formation of community practices, members' engagement in such and the ways in which such affect members' identity articulations. Additionally, the framework's increased focus both on practices and repertoire of shared resources allowed for the analysis of mixed media use in a community and an analysis of the members' language practices.

Such theoretical approach furnished the decision for the most suitable methods and analytical tools for pursuing the research questions presented above. To begin, the investigation of the community through the CoP lens necessitated the incorporation of methods that would grasp major themes in this work: the importance to social action, negotiation of practices and participation in such. The employment of an ethnographic approach of data collection enabled me to uncover the locality of the

Society's practices and the ways in which these shaped members' perceptions of community and construction of membership identities due to the fact that the focus within such an approach is on the documentation and portrayal of members' everyday experience (see section 3.1).

First of all, the investigation of the process of community formation necessitated the collection of Society e-mails across time. The e-mails were topically categorised in order to uncover any recurrent practices that the Society organises. Additionally, e-mails were analysed in terms of frequency and across a three year time span to test whether the organisation of practices reflects the Society's processes of development (see chapter 4). An interactional analysis of members' Facebook communication was undertaken in order to map the ways in which the development of member links aligns with community development. Furthermore, through the employment of SNA the Society's network features were identified and tested against communication choices (see chapter 5). ; Information on members' communication choices came into light through a thematic analysis of participants' diary entries. The ways in which Society related practices/businesses affect communication choices was also approached through the investigation of e-mail exchanges among committee members (see chapter 5). Furthermore, the issue of mutual engagement as an element shaping meaning negotiation and forms of participation was investigated through the employment of MCA and conversation analytic tools in the analysis of face-to-face recordings, committee e-mail exchanges and Facebook threads (see chapter 6). Finally, MCA and CA elements provided the lens through which the analysis of the ways in which ethnicity and cultural identity shapes the construction of membership identities and lays a part in Society practices were analysed (see chapter 7).

The following sections present the key findings of this work and the novel contribution of this investigation for wider academic research on language, ethnicity and new media is underlined.

8.1 Summary of findings

The findings of this study can be grouped into four major categories: community formation, interpersonal communication, relations of mutual engagement, ethnicity shaping joint enterprise. Such categorisations hold close connections and each

complements the other. The structure of the thesis and analysis moves from the general to the specifics of the community. Initially, as a general point of entry into the investigation an analysis of the Society's community making processes and development of member links was undertaken. Once that was established a step towards the analysis of the types of links that exist among members and how such affect their communication choices, frequency and patterns of use was taken. Furthermore, I went one step further with the analysis to uncover what positions it is that members negotiate in their relations of mutual engagement. Finally, I undertook an analysis of what exactly it is that members mutually engage in and what shapes it.

With regards to the first category of findings, it was found that the HEI Cypriot Society's formation is made possible through members' mutual engagement in a joint enterprise. It was found that members of the Society perceive membership as contact with home and socialisation with other Cypriots who share a similar background (see section 4.1.1). Adopting Wenger's CoP stages of development (see section 2.2) in analysing community formation it was found that both communication and practices advertised through Society e-mails develop at the beginning of each academic year, increase towards the mid-period of the year and decrease towards the end of the year (see section 4.2). This recurring course of action and repeatability of e-mail purpose throughout the years was found to be guided by the Society's highly transitional population (see section 4.2). Within this process, the development and organisation of practices – necessitating frequent interaction – is communicated to members via the use of e-mails, which were used as the basic platform of the communication of practices to the members. The e-mail discourse was found to be dictated by the Society's joint enterprise, in that content appropriated for circulation, language choice and preoccupation with particular types of practices facilitated contact maintenance and relationship building (see section 4.3.1). In the analysis of the development of member links, linguistic devices such as possessive pronoun use, teasing practices and forms of address were found to be employed in Facebook communication once offline social links have been established and served to maintain existing relationships and enhance social proximity (see section 4.4). The use of teasing practices such as jokes and ironic comments provided opportunities for social bonding, as participating in such practices exemplifies members' mutual understandings. Forms of address such as diminutives and possessive pronoun use were found to be used more frequently by female members and were employed as devices building social and conversational

rapport. In general, when combined with ethnographic observations, the introduction of such linguistic devices in indicating solidarity and intimacy reproduced the members' offline development of bonds. Communication among members in Facebook reflected how communication develops through the gradual use of linguistic devices such as teasing, nicknames, and politeness strategies that reflect the development of intimacy among members and enhance affiliation.

Considering the findings with regards to community formation and more specifically of the development of member links, the need for a more detailed analysis of members' relations to one another and how that is reflected in their interpersonal communication emerged. The findings of such analysis suggest that particular medium choices were linked to particular social practices and relations. More precisely, based on the diary coding of medium uses it emerged that e-mail communication was linked with institutional businesses, while FtF communication, SMS and telephone communication was linked with private and emotionally close relationships, and Facebook and MSN with general interpersonal contact.

E-mail, texting and telephone communication were found to be the preferred mediums among Committee members when negotiating Society business (see section 5.5). SMS and telephone communication were the mediums preferred when it came to the need for rapid replies and urgent matters. E-mails were increasingly employed due to the revisability and reviewability features inherent in the nature of the medium - thus forming a record of shared history and actions - as well as due to the fact that they provided opportunities for opinion expression and social inclusiveness when FtF was not possible. Types of communication were also found to be determined by member associations. Socially close relationships characterised the use of more direct forms of communication such as telephone and SMS, while socially distant relationships characterised asynchronous communication such as Facebook and e-mails. Decisions about the suitability of particular media choices rather than others reaffirmed close or distant relationships among the interlocutors.

In the analysis of members' Facebook communication, it was established that this choice reflected the offline degree of communication for weak-tie relationships due to the low frequency, long time-lags and low interactional content (see section 5.4.2). In the limited cases in which Facebook communication was employed by members of close-knit groups, this was done so not so much to support, but rather to supplement emotionally close relationships, in that such interactions acted as follow-ups to

previous offline interaction and were high in uses of references to situations, word-play and insider jokes which signalled shared meanings that were inaccessible to people outside the friendship network (see section 5.4.1). Generally speaking, the quality and quantity of interactions among members were found to be reflections of the quality and quantity of the relationships offline.

With regards to the category of mutual engagement it was found that the construction of membership identities was shaped by degrees of mutual engagement that emanated from particular forms of participation. Particular positions within the Society fostered relations of association and differentiation. Committee members frequently displayed their orientation towards their Society-related roles and through such they managed to construct ‘legitimated’ membership identities (see section 6.2). In detail, the use of inclusive and exclusive ‘we’ by Committee members, imperatives and role categorisations were employed in members’ identity moves in interaction that reflected both identities of ‘being a Cypriot Society member’ and ‘being in a legitimated position of power’. Such identity moves brought to light issues of power and control over the actual negotiation, as well as issues of legitimacy. Another important finding of this study related to member positions is that legitimated brokering work originates from central committee members rather than from members at the boundaries of the community (6.2.1). Transitions regarding member positions (both to more centralised and more peripheral positions) shaped forms of participation as well as the legitimacy for and control over the negotiation of a joint enterprise. Incorporating participants’ candidatures for committee positions in two case studies, the process of apprenticeship became evident, and it emerged that (see section 6.1) in following an inbound trajectory, members accept the responsibilities and are more willing to participate readily in the formation of practices (Napier and Gershenfield, 1981:100-101). Limited degrees of engagement in practice – whether that is a matter of self-choice or not – resulted in relations of peripherality. The case of peripheral membership exemplified that by not being granted access to the community’s more central positions, through third person plural reference to the Society, critique against the Society and low communication with other members, one manages to distance oneself from the group and develop relations of differentiation (see section 5.4).

Finally, with regards to the category of ethnicity shaping joint enterprise the analysis of emails circulated by the Society to its members indicated that the use of Greek before the English text has been the privileged language choice (see section

7.1). Such language choices i.e. the inclusion of both Greek and English in Society e-mails were tailored to enhance in-group membership through the alignment of language with the assumed Greek-Cypriot identity of the audience.

The Cypriot dialect, as the main language resource of communication among members, appeared to be a powerful instrument in legitimating membership in Society. It was found that limited access to the Society's main language resource resulted in the English Cypriot members' ('τσιαρλούες') partial participation and marginalisation (see section 7.3). Despite the fact that the English-Cypriot members' self-positioning is that of 'being Cypriot', their lack of ability in mastering interactions in CG resulted in lack of mutuality and relations of marginality. Furthermore, it was noted that the use of CG among Greek-Cypriot members was not uniform as regional variation characterised interactions among members. However, such use or regional varieties, rather than becoming an issue through which members would develop relations based on difference, the members associated such uses with legitimated membership and identification with the Cypriot identity (see section 7.4). The members' comments on, and very awareness of, regional differences allowed them to construct a shared national identity. On the other hand, differences between CG and SMG became constitutive for the differentiation of Greek-Cypriot members with mainland Greeks (see section 7.5). The use of categories such as 'καλαμαράες' and group identifications such as 'Hellenic Society' appeared to be categories displaying relations of difference and othering. Overall, at the backdrop of joint enterprise, lie discourses of ethnicity that shape membership, legitimation and practice.

8.1.1 Discussion of findings

Through a focus on the process of community formation key features of the Society that can be understood within the CoP perspective were identified. Additionally, issues of identity and ethnicity were identified as important aspects in the process of community formation (see chapter 4). The analysis of communication within the Society brought to the fore both network features of the Society and media choices and the relationship they hold to one another (see chapter 5). Key practices that support the production of membership and membership identities and roles were identified through the investigation of relations of mutual engagement and the ways in which they affect forms of participation (see chapter 6). Finally, through the analysis

of the elements that define joint enterprise it became evident that ethnicity and cultural identity lay a part in Society practices and formation of membership identity (see chapter 7).

The CoP framework and its adaptation in sociolinguistic research has been criticised for its lack of focus on mechanisms of access and acceptance and the ways these are managed in CoP (Davies, 2005:573). Indeed, the framework does not account for the ways in which acceptance is granted beyond the members' acquisition of meaning. Interestingly, the analysis of member interactions in the Society provides valid grounds to suggest that in this community of practice, a mechanism of access and legitimacy is ethnic identity and language use. The case of English-Cypriot members indicates that despite the fact that such individuals are granted access, their limited access to Society resources (i.e. CG dialect) resulted in lack of mutuality in engaging in Society practices. The English-Cypriot members' limited ability to speak the CG dialect, which is the main language of communication among members, results in their marginalisation. Similarly, Bucholtz supports that particular individuals can be "perceived as outsiders in an ethnic group if they lack the requisite linguistic skills" (1995:356). Surely, the English-Cypriot members are not being denied their Cypriot origin but their characteristic of in-betweenness and their limited competency in CG results in the ascription of the identity of 'τσιαρλούες'. It is worthy of note that in the case of 'τσιαρλούες', it was not only the Committee members that did not grant them with enough legitimacy, but rather the Society as a collective; this fact illustrates how the Society and its members locate themselves in the larger social sphere.

Despite the fact that Lave and Wenger support that CoP have no centre or core (1991:36), this study indicates that the structure of the Society has specified hierarchical positions. The Society's Committee are individuals voted to govern the Society, and those at the bottom are very aware of their presence and power in relation to other members and in the organisation of the Society's practices. Analysing committee e-mail exchanges presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 highlights the process of decision-making between Committee members and the ways in which power relationships play out through the use of linguistic devices (i.e. greetings, imperatives, directives and pronoun use). Additionally, in contrast to Wenger's claims that "brokers must often avoid two opposite tendencies: being pulled in to become full members and being rejected as intruders" (Wenger, 1998:110), my

findings suggest that brokering work in this community is solely enabled by Committee members. Committee members have the legitimacy to introduce new practices in the Society (See Section 6.2) due to their central position in the Society. My findings further support Tusting's re-examination of Alinsu claims processing (Wenger's material) from a language perspective, which indicated that "decision-making power is held up in the hierarchy" (Tusting, 2005:48). Tusting found that the supervisor's use of directives, the issuing of instructions and the control over what is communicated were devices employed in maintaining power relations.

Notably, hierarchies also emerge within the Society, which affect forms of participation. The case of Georgianna in this study supports McConnell-Ginet and Eckert's findings in their Belten High study that it is essential in a community of study (1995:492). Georgiana's marginalisation became evident through the employment of a Sociogram representing close-knit groups in which reciprocal naming, between Georgiana and other members, was non-existent. Her position outside other prominent groups within the Society (formed by both committee and non-Committee members) was evident in the lack of mutual naming. The employment of SNA in my study strengthened the CoP framework as it allowed for a more rigorous representation and analysis of different types of membership. However, what was interesting in this case was that Georgiana's marginalisation was not only an issue of not being granted acceptance but also an issue of choice. When Georgiana was not given the opportunity to submit a candidature for a position in the Committee and hence not given access to participation in the Society's practices and relations, then a sense of mutual engagement was weakened. Not being granted access has resulted in Georgiana's belittling perception of the Society and in her partial participation.

8.3 Thesis contribution

The present study attempted to build its own distinct contribution to the area of language, identity and new media research through the investigation of a community of practice: its community-making processes through mediation and across time, members' choices of communication mediums, membership identities and their relation to engagement and Society, articulations of Society-related roles and positions in interaction and the role of ethnically-based categorisations in membership

and participation. The study was largely based on the CoP theoretical framework which brought to the fore issues such as language choices, process of integration into the group, and forms of participation as defining factors in identification with particular positions and community membership. Altogether, the study was successful in sufficiently meeting with the aims and objectives that were set out. Namely:

- Provide an additional contribution to the sociolinguistic field by complementing existing literature on identities, community and new media.
- Provide an analysis within the Cop framework of how identity negotiation and community formation occurs across media through a focus on the interactional practices of the Greek-Cypriot student Society.
- Promote an understanding of the ways in which the analysis of language use in different mediational contexts facilitates the investigation of social relationships and discourse practices of community and its members.
- Combine different analytical perspectives from the linguistic field and fuse types of analysis and data sets in expanding the scope of research in multiple sites of interactional engagement.

Research on language and communities in sociolinguistic research has been frequently approached within the Speech Community framework (see section 2.3) which tends to “define the social world in strictly (socio) linguistic terms” and favour category identity as well as shared norms and evaluations of norms as definitive of community membership (Bucholtz, 1999:203; Holmes and Meyerhoff, 1999:179). The introduction of practice theory, and more specifically the CoP model, into sociolinguistic research is an important recent development in the field as it provides a useful alternative to the speech-community model, in that it highlights identity construction in relation to participation in practice. What is more the CoP framework has been successfully combined with the social constructionist approach to language and identity in that both perspectives emphasize the notion of identity as being a process resulting from other processes such as negotiation (Wenger, 1998; De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006:2).

The usefulness of the model in research on language and communities can be further located in the affordances it provides in analysing online interactions among

community members. More specifically, it places the use of mediation as a resource in members' repertoire and allows for the investigation of online practices as part of member engagement in practice. Therefore, online communication can be seen as means for participation in practice, which is central to communities of practice, in that participation is what gives access to meanings of engagement, bonds and membership (Wenger, 1998:167-168).

With respect to identity negotiation and community formation across media, the CoP framework appears to address current issues in language and new media research. In detail, it addresses the challenge related to the notion of 'virtual community' that describes interactions among users of web-based environments (Herring, 2004:359). The focus of the CoP model on the quality of members' interactions in constituting a community and as being part of a trajectory of available resources, allows for the analysis of members' discourse practices, motivations and meanings attached to those in the process of engaging in some joint enterprise. What is highlighted through such analysis are not so much the features and strategies of new media use but rather the affordances and constraints of the mediums used, which are in each case utilised by members in achieving both the interactional goal and the articulation of social categories and activities (Androutsopoulos, 2008:3). What is more, the present study is innovative in the way that it encompasses both online and offline data allowing for the contextualisation of members' practices within the social landscape in which they operate as members of the Society. The incorporation of both online and offline data allows for an enhanced understanding of people's experiences of being part of a community and engaging in practices across media, as such datasets are mutually contextualizing each other (Orgad, 2009:48).

Based on the fruitful results that this study has yielded, responses to research questions involving issues of language, identity and membership in understanding a community's culture and the ways in which practices in online and offline contexts inform and enable each other (Orgad, 2009:39) can adequately be addressed through an integration of analytical and theoretical approaches that centralize language and identity as social practices. In detail, the integration of CA, MCA, Positioning Theory and Goffmanian notions, all of which highlight the crucial role of linguistic practices in the creation, negotiation and establishment of identities (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006:1) can inform analysis of a community viewed through the CoP lens. The employment of such analytical elements breaks down the obscurity barrier within

the CoP with regards to the ways in which negotiation of meaning occurs in situated and localised interactions.

Overall, it can be said that no claims can be made about the generalizability of the study in terms of specific identity articulations, it must be acknowledged that studies employing an activity-based approach such as the CoP framework the investigation with regards to the effect of relations of mutual engagement and forms of participation on identity construction will more likely yield similar results. This study proposes that adopting a CoP framework along with the employment of the aforementioned methods of analysis would be the most appropriate in studies investigating the formation of diaspora (and not limited to such) communities.

Most importantly, the present study opens up scope for more research on language, identity and new media to be conducted in the Greek context. To my knowledge and with the exception of Androutsopoulos, Georgakopoulou, and more recently Angouri and Tseliga, ethnographically informed studies addressing the ways in which repertoires of resources (i.e linguistic, discursive or social) can be skilfully exploited to shape practices and interactions in mediated environments are scarce in the Greek academia (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2004 and Angouri, 2010).

7.3 Implications for further research

The study has examined the issue of language use and identity management across media of the members of a Greek-Cypriot student Society and revealed a number of issues that can be used for future research in language and new media.

To begin with, it is believed that it would be useful to compare current findings with more general bodies of data with respect to the relations between community members and the ways in which these can shape choices of communication mediums, interactional content and linguistic devices that are used, and which shape such interactions. Despite the fact that a number of studies have incorporated both offline and online ethnography in investigating communities, identity and CMC, there is no extensive literature that comprises of data originating from multiple sites of engagement such as Facebook threads, FtF interactions, e-mails, interviews and diaries. It is believed that the collection of data from multiple sites of engagement (as conducted here) will contribute to the development of future research and could

potentially yield interesting results, as well as a more comprehensive picture of the articulation of identity, language and new media use.

Additionally, in view of the findings regarding language use and choice in different communication mediums and for different purposes (see section 6.1), a cross-language comparison between languages that are characterised with similar tensions between varieties forming community linguistic repertoires would be fruitful.

Finally, something more specific to this study would be further investigation of the Greek-Cypriot student Society. An interesting finding in this study was the distinction made between the Cypriot Society and Hellenic Society. With regards to the Cypriot Society larger discourses and ideologies (i.e. Cypriocentrism) of national identity are in operation, defining the Society's position within the social sphere. An interesting expansion of this current work would be to investigate the background discourses that define the identity of the Hellenic Society and its members. Additionally, it would be useful to see how regional varieties of SMG are similarly embraced as elements that serve to construct national identity, as was the case in my research. What is more, despite the participants' geographical and cultural mobility, the issue of defining oneself as a Greek-Cypriot national or as a Greek national will shed light on ideas of nationalism and national identity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Appendix A1

HEI University of London Cypriot Society Constitution ⁴³

The "Union" refers to the HEI University of London Students' Union.
This document supports the Union's constitution, in particular Regulation F, copies of which are available from the Students' Union or on www.kclsu.org.

Contents

- 1. Name**
- 2. Aims and Objectives**
- 3. Membership**
- 4. Subscriptions and Finance**
- 5. Club officials**
- 6. Duties of Club/Society Officials**
- 7. Meetings**
- 8. Voting**
- 9. Constitutional Changes**
- 10. Clubs/Society Complaints Procedure**
- 11. Society's Committee Commitments**
- 12. Union Commitments**
- 13. Discipline**

1 Name

1.1 The Club's/Society's name shall be the "HEI University of London Cypriot Society". Referred to as the "Society"

2 Aims and Objectives of the Society

2.1 To give the opportunity to the members of the Society to get to know the Cypriot mentality, culture, history and civilisation and exchange ideas for issues concerning Cyprus.

2.2 To inform the members about the complicated political situation in Cyprus in an objective and disinterested way.

2.3 To allow current students/members of the Society, through their experience, to give the basic information to the newly-arrived- members about life in London.

2.4 To assist the members of the Society facing problems and difficulties or anything whatsoever, always within the competences and powers of the Society, without contravening the Union's Rules and Constitution.

2.5 To inform the prospective students living in Cyprus about the opportunities and education in HEI University of London.

⁴³ Document adopted from www.kclsu.org/cysoc.com/Constitution.html [Accessed 9th March 2008]

2.6 To create affiliations with the Cypriot Societies of other universities, in a spirit of co-operation and solidarity.

3 Membership of the Society

3.1 Membership to the Society will be open to all members of the Union in accordance with the Union constitution.

3.2 Individuals who are not members of the Union may only participate in the Society's activities in a coaching capacity or through associate membership.

3.3 The Society's members (including coaching members) must act according to the Union's Equal Opportunities Policy.

4 Society Subscriptions and Finance

4.1 A membership fee is required from all Cypriot Society members. The Cypriot Society committee will determine this fee (in line with the set minimum) and are responsible for its collection.

4.2 Union members shall receive no direct or indirect payment, except for legitimate expenses incurred in connection with Cypriot Society business.

4.3 Members shall not pay individual drivers of minibuses, as we cannot provide transport for Hire or Reward. Approved drivers (on the student's union driver's list) shall drive voluntarily and not receive payment).

5 Society Officials

5.2 An elected committee will conduct administration. This committee shall not operate autonomously. Planning activities, buying equipment and administering other club matters must be processed through KCLSU.

5.3 The Committee will consist of the following officers who shall be full members of the Union:

- President/Chair
- Vice-President
- Vice-President
- Treasurer
- Events-Public Relations Officer
- Sport's Officer
- Fresher's Director
- Fresher's Director

5.4 The committee will serve for one complete academic year.

6 Duties of Society Officials

6.1 The Society President/Chair is responsible for:

- Ensuring that all Aims and Objectives are followed through.
- Attending all Student Activities Councils (one per semester).
- Providing adequate provision for all members in the program of events.
- Providing a high standard of instruction and leadership for the members.
- Keeping in regular contact with the VP Student Activities and Student Activities Staff Members.
- Representing the Society at any kind of events, whenever considered necessary to do so.
- Other duties as agreed with the Committee.

6.2 The Society Vice-Presidents are responsible for:

- Ensuring the coordination of the Cypriot Society Committee.
- Supervising events and activities carried out by the society.
- Assuming the role of the President/Chair in his/her absence.
- Administering the membership of the Society.
- Compiling and issuing minutes to Society members.
- Ensuring a constructive relationship is maintained between themselves which is to benefit the committee and Society as a whole.
- Other duties as agreed with the Committee.

6.3 The Society Treasurer is responsible for:

- Administering the finances in accordance with Union procedures.
- Attending all Student Activities Councils (one per semester).
- Keeping in regular contact with the VP Student Activities and Student Activities Staff Members to ensure that the account remains in the black.
- Producing a financial plan for the academic year.
- Producing an annual budget proposal.
- Representing the Society to any kind of events, whenever considered necessary to do so.
- Other duties as agreed with the Committee

6.4 The Society Sport's Officer is responsible for:

- Promoting sports/athletic activities within the society.
- Liaising with societies both at HEI University of London and at other universities so as to organise friendly and competitive games.
- Ensuring the wellbeing of all members involved in sports activities.
- Other duties as agreed with the Committee.

6.5 The Society Events-Public Relations Officer is responsible for:

- Promoting the development of the Society.
- Promoting a good level of communication between the members of the Society.
- Ensuring a healthy and continuous relationship between the Society and the Cypriot Societies of other universities.
- Promoting the Society's activities to students other than members.
- Being responsible for the promotion of any kind of activities.
- Being responsible for completing the Trip and Activity form when a trip is organised.
- Coming up with new and original ideas, concerning activities.
- Writing and sending newsletters informing the members about the decisions taken by the Society's Committee.
- Other duties as agreed with the Committee.

6.6 The Freshers' Directors are responsible for:

- Identifying the new-comers.
- Informing the new-comers about the Society, its aims and objectives.
- Answering any queries forwarded to the Society's Committee.
- Compiling introductory material for new members in conjunction with the committee.
- Other duties as agreed with the committee.

7 Meetings

7.1 An Annual General Meeting (AGM) is required towards the end of the second term.

7.2 The Cypriot Society President/Chair must call regular ordinary general meetings.

7.3 Regular committee meetings are required to discuss all Cypriot Society matters.

8 Voting

8.1 This will take place for the election of the Committee and any other issue that the Club deem of importance.

8.2 Only members will be entitled to vote.

9 Changes to Society's Constitutions

9.1 Changes can be implemented if approved by a two-thirds majority obtained at an annual or ordinary general meeting of the Cypriot Society and consent from the VP Student Activities.

10 Society's Complaints Procedure

10.1 This procedure has been created to allow members to raise complaints about issues which might include the following:

- The safety of activities
- Poor standards of instruction or leadership.
- Non-adherence to the Cypriot Society Aims and Objectives.
- The standards of equipment used for all activities
- Poor administration
- Disregard to the Union's Equal Opportunities policy.

10.2 Complaints concerning safety or operational matters should initially be addressed to the Cypriot Society's President. If this does not prove satisfactory, a written complaint should be made to the VP Student Activities.

11 Society's Committee Commitments

11.1 The nature of the Society is non-governmental and non-political.

Bearing this in mind, members of the Committee should act in accordance and compliance with this provision. Members of the Committee are not allowed to use directly or indirectly the Society's Mechanism for their own causes, benefits and self-promotion.

11.2 The Members of the Society's Committee are precluded from participating in politically-based procedures and events related to organizations, groups and parties outside the ambit of the Society bearing a political colour whilst representing their Society.

11.3 Members of the Committee are not allowed as Committee or Members of the Committee, whilst in officio, to participate as candidates or promoters of candidates in politically based elections related to the National Union of Cypriot Students in UK (ÅÖÅÊ) or any other elections bearing a political colour.

11.4 Members of the Committee are free to follow the precluded actions stated generally in Article 11 after surrendering their office two months in advance of the relevant procedures stated in Article 11 and as explained in paragraph 6-Explanatory note of the aforementioned Article.

11.5 Any disciplinary wrongful act bears the sanction of disqualification of the wrong-doer from the Society's Committee which is at the discretion of the Committee to attribute.

11.6 Explanatory Note: Society's Mechanism is not narrowly related to the mailing and contact list of the Cypriot society. It includes also the publicity and connections

as to the members and non-members of the Society gained by any holder of an office in the Society's Committee. This definition is specifically made so that to reflect and clarify the notion of the words 'directly' and 'indirectly' as stated in paragraph 11.1.

Members of the Committee are not precluded from having or showing their political and/or ideological preference as well from participating in any occasion of this kind from the position of an individual. Their actions and general behaviour, however, should be in line with Article 11 so as not to prejudice either the members of the Society or the nature of the Society per se. The members of the Committee are OBLIGED to respect the Society's neutral basis.

12 Union Commitments

12.1 The President/Chair and Treasurer from Cypriot Society are required to attend every Student Activities Council meetings. All incoming Presidents and Treasurers are required to attend the Student Activities Council AGM along with their outgoing officer.

12.2 Further commitments are outlined in Regulation F, which the Society must abide by.

13 Discipline

13.1 The Society shall have disciplinary regulations that are in line with the Union's Constitution.

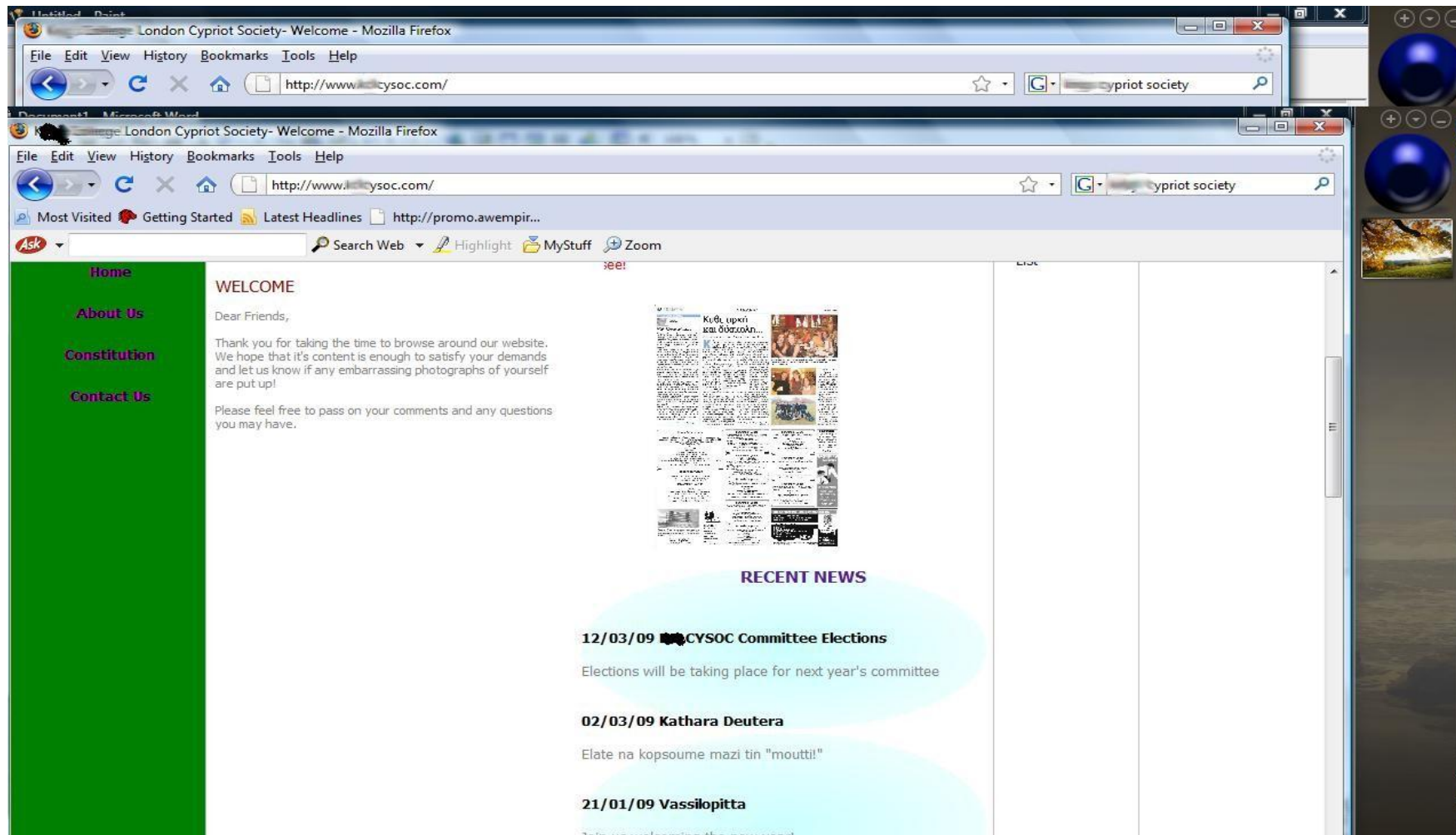
13.2 The VP Student Activities shall be notified of all disciplinary action and, where appropriate will convene an Appeal Committee.

13.3 The Committee will have the discretion to proceed in any disciplinary measure towards a member of the Society, always within the provisions of the Union's Constitution.

Appendix A2

The HEI Cypriot Society Website





APPENDIX B

Appendix B1

Ethical Approval Form

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS



REC Protocol Number: Rep-H/07/08-22

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

University of London

'Language, Communities of practice and Identity Management Across Media: a sociolinguistic study of a Greek-Cypriot student society'

You are invited to participate in this postgraduate research project. Upon deciding whether or not to participate in this study, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way.

Thank you for reading this.

Purpose of the study:

The aim of this study is to analyze the possible connections between language and the construction/projection and negotiation of (group) identity, in groups of people with shared interests and goals. In detail this research aims to illustrate how identities and relations between the members of this community of practice (King's College London Cypriot Society) are occasioned and negotiated within and across different media of interactional activity through language use.

Recruitment:

You have been invited to participate as this research will mainly deal with youth of Greek-Cypriot origin, studying abroad at University level in the broader area of London, England.

What will participation involve:

Participating in this research study will involve personal interviews, recordings of group discussions and at some cases videotaped group meetings. The interviews will take place upon an agreed location by interviewer and interviewee and will take approximately 30-45 minutes. The interviews will be semi-structured and might be in the nature of informal talk. The interview will be recorded and will later on be transcribed into text form. You would be very welcome to have a copy of this form if you wished.

Once the data are gathered, a presentation of the results will possibly include the use of your own words in text form.

Please note:

5. You can decide to stop the interview at any time
6. You need not answer questions which you do not wish.
7. Anything you tell us will be confidential. Your name will be removed from the information and anonymised. It will not be possible to identify anyone from our reports on the study.
8. Following transcription all data will be wiped from the recording equipment
5. The use of Facebook data such as user profiles and wall threads, will not in any way allow for the identification of the participants. The data gathered from Facebook will be anonymous.

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

If this study has harmed you in any way you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

Researcher: Christodoulou Valentina

valentina.christodoulou@kcl.ac.uk

Supervisor: Alexandra Georgakopoulou

alexandra.georgakopoulou@kcl.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.



Title of Study: 'Language, Communities of Practice and Identity Management across media: a sociolinguistic study of a Greek-Cypriot student society'.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: _____

- Thank you for considering to take part in this research. The person organizing the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part.
- If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.
- The information you have submitted will be published as a report and you will be sent a copy. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.
- By giving consent to participate in this research I understand that the researcher will be making use of personal information through Facebook information and recordings. Considering that the identity of all participants will remain confidential, I understand that both recorded material from interviews and peer-to-peer talk, as well as Facebook information accessed through my profile, will be treated as such.

I understand that if I decide at any other time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and be withdrawn from it immediately.

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. Those information being recordings from peer-to-peer talk, interviews and Facebook information (e.g. user profiles, wall threads, membership in Facebook groups). I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).

Participant's Statement:

I _____

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Researcher's Statement:

I _____

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the volunteer.

Signed _____

Date _____

Appendix B2

Juxtaposition of research questions with data types chosen for the analysis and justification for such choice. Research questions are categorised in terms of thesis chapters.

Chapter 4		
Research Question	Data Type	Rationale
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the process of community making of this community of practice and how is mediation employed in such process? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - E-mails - Diaries - Interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - E-mail frequency illustrated the different stages of the process of community making. - Diaries illuminated the discussion on the use of mediation in the development of practices. - Interviews provided insights into participants' perceptions of community bonds.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In what ways are relations between the members of this community of practice occasioned over time and across different media of interactional activity? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Facebook threads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Facebook threads between members informed the analysis on the development of member relations and interactional activity.

Chapter 5		
Research Question	Data Type	Rationale
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What choices of communication mediums do members employ and how are these related to member relations and/or Society-related business. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews - Diaries - Facebook threads - Committee e-mail Exchanges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews provided insights into social networks within the community as well as communication choices. - Diaries informed the analysis with regards to the use of communication mediums in participants' everyday practices. - Focus has been placed on the frequency and content of wall posts and the ways in which different types of member relations could be linked to such. - The analysis of e-mail exchanges between committee members revolves around the affordances and constraints of the medium.

Chapter 6		
Research Question	Data Type	Rationale
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In what ways is the construction and negotiation of membership identities influenced by relations of mutual engagement? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Casual talk recordings - Recording of Committee Meeting - Interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recordings were looked at in terms of participants' orientations towards particular membership identities. - The committee meeting recording provided a valid context for the analysis of membership identities as those are influenced by mutual engagement in the Society's organization of practices. - Interviews provided insights into participants' experiences of membership and participation.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How are linguistic devices systematically used to make relevant identities in member interactions and how are such articulations related to Society-related roles and identities? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Committee e-mail exchanges - Facebook threads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Committee e-mail exchanges revolved around Society related business and therefore focus was placed on the ways in which committee members made relevant their Society related roles in such interactions. - Facebook posts provided information on the ways in which participants orient to particular positions within the Society, through the use of medium specific characteristics and categorization devices.

Chapter 7		
Research Question	Data Type	Rationale
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How are linguistic resources used to construct ethnically based categorizations and in what ways are these categorizations shaped by membership and participation? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews - E-mails - Casual talk recordings - Recording of Committee meeting - Vignette - Facebook threads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews illuminated the analysis with regards to participant perceptions on the link between membership, practices and ethnic identity. - The Society's official e-mails were a valuable source in terms of language choice defining the audience and the Society's orientation. - Casual interactions among member provided information on the ways in which social categories were defined by forms of membership, as well as information on the ways in which dialect variation shaped the definition of social categorizations. - Similarly to casual talk recordings, the committee meeting recordings provided insights on the ways in which particular Society membership defines the ascription of social categories. - The Vignette provided supplementary information on the ways in which members belonging in particular categories are socially placed in a Society event. - Facebook threads were looked at in terms of language variation and the ways in which such shaped the social categorization.

APPENDIX C

Appendix C1

List of Interview Questions (Greek version)

1. Είσαι φοιτητής του HIE University of London, στο οποίο υπάρχει ένας Κυπριακός όμιλος, το HIE Cypriot Society. Είσαι μέλος αυτού του ομίλου;
2. α) Έχεις κάποια θέση στην επιτροπή του Cypriot Society;
β) αν ναι, ποιες είναι οι αρμοδιότητες σου και γενικά με ποια άλλα θέματα του ομίλου ασχολείσαι;
3. Πόσο συχνά συμμετέχεις σε εκδηλώσεις που οργανώνει ο όμιλος;
4. Ποια είναι η γνώμη σου για αυτές τις εκδηλώσεις;
5. Ένας μεγάλος αριθμός εκδηλώσεων έχουν ονομασίες όπως 'Greek party' ή έχουν άμεση σχέση με την κυπριακή παράδοση, όπως το 'Κόψιμο Βασιλόπιτας' ή η 'Καθαρά Δευτέρα'. Ποια είναι η γνώμη σου για αυτές τις εκδηλώσεις και τείνεις να πηγαίνεις σε αυτές τις εκδηλώσεις;
6. Το γεγονός ότι είσαι μέλος αυτού του ομίλου είναι κάτι το οποίο σου έχει προσφέρει την δυνατότητα να γνωρίσεις και να κοινωνικοποιηθείς με άλλα άτομα από την Κύπρο;
7. Μέσω της συμμετοχής σου στον όμιλο, έχεις δημιουργήσει καθόλου στενές φιλίες με άλλα μέλη του ομίλου;
8. Μπορείς να περιγράψεις τις περιστάσεις υπό τις οποίες έχουν δημιουργηθεί οι φιλίες ή οι σύνδεσμοι με άλλα άτομα του ομίλου;
9. Είναι αλήθεια ότι οι περισσότεροι άνθρωποι είναι παράλληλα μέλη ή έχουν στενές σχέσεις με διάφορα groups. Το HIE Cypriot Society είναι μόνο ένα από αυτά. Τι πιστεύεις ότι είναι αυτό που κρατάει τον συγκεκριμένο όμιλο ζωντανό;
10. Σε γενικές γραμμές με τι ομάδες ανθρώπων συναναστρέφεσαι /κοινωνικοποιείσαι; Με ανθρώπους μέσα από τον όμιλο ή εκτός;
11. Υπάρχει κάποιος συγκεκριμένος λόγος για αυτό;
12. Μπορείς να μου ονομάσεις τους φίλους σου;
13. Πόσο συχνά τους βλέπεις;
14. Πώς επικοινωνείς μαζί τους;

15. Πόσο συχνά χρησιμοποιείς το Internet;
16. Τι συνήθειες έχεις αποκτήσει όταν χρησιμοποιείς τον υπολογιστή σου; Για παράδειγμα κατεβάζεις τραγούδια, διαβάζεις ειδήσεις, ακούς ράδιο;
17. Η χρήση που κάνεις του Internet, εμπεριέχει χρήσεις ή επιλογές που να έχουν σχέση με την Κυπριακή κουλτούρα ή ψυχαγωγία;
18. Όταν βρίσκεσαι online, τι γλώσσα χρησιμοποιείς σαν βασική πλατφόρμα επικοινωνίας; Και τι πιστεύεις ότι επηρεάζει την γλωσσική σου αυτή επιλογή;
19. Για ποιους επικοινωνιακούς σκοπούς χρησιμοποιείς το Facebook;
20. Οι επαφές σου στο Facebook είναι κυρίως άτομα τα οποία έχεις γνωρίσει κατά την διαμονή σου εδώ σαν φοιτητής/τρια ή είναι κυρίως προϋπάρχοντες φίλοι ή συγγενείς;
21. Με ποιόν είναι πιο πιθανό να επικοινωνήσεις μέσω Facebook;
22. Τι μέσα επικοινωνίας χρησιμοποιείς κυρίως όταν επικοινωνείς με ανθρώπους με τους οποίους έχεις στενή φιλία ή επαφές και τι μέσα επικοινωνίας με ανθρώπους με τους οποίους δεν έχεις στενές επαφές;

List of Interview Questions (English version)

- 1.** You are a student of HEI University I which there is a Cypriot Society.
Are you a member of this Society?
- 2.** A) Have you got any position in the Society's Committee?
B) And if yes what are your responsibilities and with what issues of the Society are you pre-occupied with?
- 3.** How often do you participate in events organized by the Society?
- 4.** What is your opinion about the events organized by the Society?
- 5.** A large number of the events are named as 'Greek party' or are directly related with the Cypriot tradition - named as 'Santa-Claus pie cutting' or 'Green Monday'. What is your opinion about these events and do you tend to go to such?
- 6.** Has being a member of the Society offered you the possibility to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?
- 7.** Have you created any close friendship with other members, through your participation in the Society?
- 8.** Could you describe the circumstances under which any friendships or connections with other members have been created?
- 9.** It is true, that a lot of people are simultaneously members or have close connections with various groups/Societies. HEI Cypriot Society is only one among those many groups. What do you think keeps the Society alive/active as a force?
- 10.** Generally speaking, with what kinds of people do you socialize with?
People within the Society or outside the Society?
- 11.** Is there a particular reason for this?
- 12.** Can you name your friends?
- 13.** How often do you see them?
- 14.** How do you communicate with them?
- 15.** How often do you use the Internet?
- 16.** What habits have you acquired whilst using your computer? For example, do you listen to the radio? Do you read news? Do you download songs?

- 17.** Does your Internet use involve choices or uses that are related to the Cypriot culture or entertainment?
- 18.** When language do you use when you are online? And what do you think affects this language choice?
- 19.** For what kinds of communicative purposes do you use Facebook?
- 20.** Are your contacts in Facebook mainly people that you have met during your stay in London as a student or are they pre-existing friends and/or relatives?
- 21.** With whom are you more likely to communicate via Facebook?
- 22.** What communication modes do you mainly use when you communicate with people with whom you have close connections and what modes of communication with people you are not closely linked to?

Appendix C2

List of interview questions and references to issues of ethnicity by the 10 focal participants interviewed. References are categorized to a) Language-specific references and b) References to culture, tradition, history and identity.

List of Interview Questions	Participants' Language-Specific References	Participants' References to culture, tradition, history and identity
1. You are a student of HEI University I which there is a Cypriot Society. Are you a member of this Society?		
2. A) Have you got any position in the Society's Committee? B) And if yes what are your responsibilities and with what issues of the Society are you pre-occupied with?		√
3. How often do you participate in events organized by the Society?		
4. What is your opinion about the events organized by the Society?	√	√ √
5. A large number of the events are named as 'Greek party' or are directly related with the Cypriot tradition - named as 'Santa-Claus pie cutting' or 'Green Monday'. What is your opinion about these events and do you tend to go to such?	√ √	√ √ √ √ √ √ √
6. Has being a member of the Society offered you the possibility to meet and socialize with other people from Cyprus?	√	√
7. Have you created any close friendship with other members, through your participation in the Society?		
8. Could you describe the circumstances under which any friendships or connections with other members have been created?	√	√
9. It is true, that a lot of people are simultaneously members or have close connections with various groups/Societies. HEI Cypriot Society is only one among those many groups. What do you think keeps the Society alive/active as a force?	√ √	√ √ √ √ √ √
10. Generally speaking, with what kinds of people do you socialize with? People within the Society or outside the Society?		
11. Is there a particular reason for this?	√	√
12. Can you name your friends?		
13. How often do you see them?		
14. How do you communicate with them?		
15. How often do you use the Internet?		
16. What habits have you acquired whilst using your computer? For example, do you listen to the radio? Do you read news? Do you download songs?		
17. Does your Internet use involve choices or uses that are related to the Cypriot culture or entertainment?		
18. When language do you use when you are online? And what do you think affects this language choice?		
19. For what kinds of communicative purpose do you use Facebook?		
20. Are your contacts in Facebook mainly people that you have met during your stay in London as a student or are they pre-existing friends and/or relatives?		
21. With whom are you more likely to communicate via Facebook?		
22. What communication modes do you mainly use when you communicate with people with whom you have close connections and what modes of communication with people you are not closely linked?		

Appendix C3

Category: Society's Survival/Success				
Identified Themes				
	Contact With Home (culture, language and communication)	Society Committee	Member Participation	Group Size
Jennie				'I think it's the fact that we are not so many; it makes us more tightly connected; I don't know we are more closer to each other now than we would be if there we more members.'
Alexandros			'I think it is the members' presence and their desire to participate.'	
Adrianne			It is members' frequent contact and even the Society e-mails that remind us that indeed we are part of a society.	
Michael		'The Chair's concern. Alexandros basically.'	'It is the fact that we actually do stuff.' 'If we didn't do anything it would collapse.'	
Georgiana	'You can't just have no contact with the Cypriot culture. The Cypriot needs Cypriots, it can't be otherwise. Speaking Greek even for a bit does count as something.'	'Alexandros!'		
Thanos	'It is our need to keep alive some sort of contact with home.' 'And again is contact with other Cypriots because we know their mentality.'	'The hard work and especially the will that the members of the committee have each year.'		

	Contact With Home (culture, language and communication)	Society Committee	Member Participation	Group Size
John	‘I think that above all it’s the fact that we are Cypriots’			
Eliza	‘The fact that it is culture-based, that it is country-based, that it is a Cypriot Society. I think it is the most important, and this is always on the basis of language.’ ‘Because you will see a lot of people that express themselves more easily with people that come from their country, who speak their language and their dialect.’			
Chrissie	‘I think it’s this need to communicate with people that come from the same background as us.’			
Julius				

Appendix C4

Participants' answers to the interview question: 'Can you name your friends?' Interview extracts were used towards the identification of members' close contact friends. Additionally, the information from these extracts allowed for the identification of sub-groups within the Society.

Interview Question: 'Can you name your friends?'

Participants' Answers:

- **Alexandros:** Τους πιο κοντινούς μου; Εεε εν ο Σολωμής, ο Μένι [...] Εεε τούτοι εντός του society, η Eliza. Εκτός οι φίλοι μου ο Σταύρος, ο Παναγιώτης, ο Νικόλας.

Translation: My closest? Ee it's Solomis, Meni [...] Eee these are members of the Society, and Eliza. Non-members of the Society are my friends Stavros, Panayiotis, Nicholas.

- **Adrianne:** Μάλιστα. Ο Thanos, η Eliza, ο Αντρέας, Ηλιάνα, Γαβριέλα, Φαίδρα, Michael, εε ο Κάρπασος, ο Alexandros...

Translation: Right. Thanos, Eliza, Andreas, Eliana, Gabrielle, Fedra, Michael, ee Karpasos, Alexandros...

- **Julius:** Έχω την Jennie, την Χριστίνα που είμαστε μαζί..κάμνουμε το ίδιο πτυχίο άρα είμαστε κάθε μέρα μαζί. Ε την Βαλεντίνα...τον Αλέξανδρο, τον Michael, την Adrianne, τον Αντρέα, τον John....

Translation: I have Jennie, Christina that we are together...we are doing the same degree so we are together every day. E Valentina....Alexandros, Michael, Adrianne, Andreas, John...

- **Jennie:** Ο Julius και η Χριστίνα [...] ο Αλέξανδρος, ο Michael, η Θάλεια, η Chrissie.

Translation: Julius, Christina [...] Alexandros, Michael, Thalia, Chrissie.

- **John:** Είναι ο Γιώργος, οι κολλητοί μου [...] και τα άτομα που είναι στα halls μου [...] και η Βαλεντίνα.

Translation: It's George, my best mates [...] and the people that are in my halls [...] and Valentina.

- **Georgiana:** Την Ιωάννα σίγουρα που κάμνουμε πάρα πολλή παρέα, τον Αλέκο [...] τον Κουάλη, την Ελένη.

Translation: Joanna that we definatly hang out a lot, Alekos [...] Koualis, Eleni

- **Thanos:** Οι πιο στενοί μου φίλοι εν τσiai τα άτομα που επέλεξα να συγκατοικήσουμε τσiai κάπου κοντά φέτος, τσiai εν κυρίως άτομα της χρονιάς μου.. δηλαδή εν η Θάλεια, εν η Φαίδρα, ο Γιώργος Κάρπασος, ο Michael [...] εν άτομα του ΗΙΕ, είναι μέλη του Society νομίζω όλοι, τσiai ντάξει φέτος προστέθηκε ακόμα ένα άτομο στα άτομα με την στενή παρέα, ο οποίος είναι ο Νικόλας, και είναι νέο μέλος του ΗΕΙ, πρωτοετής...ναι.

Translation: My closest friends are the people I chose to live with close to this year, and are mostly people in the same (study) year as me..that is Thalia, it's Fedra, George Karpasos, Michael [...] they are people from HEI, they are all members of the Society I think; this year there was one more addition to the people I am close;y related to, Nicholas who is a fresher in HEI...yeah.

- **Chrissie:** Η Eliza, η Ένυ που εν LSE, η Μαργαρίτα City, ο John [...] αλλά τσiai άλλοι εννοώ...η Ηλιάνα, η Γαβριέλλα που εν στο ΗΕΙ, τα παιθκια που μεινίσκουν Euston...δηλαδή αρκετοί, βασικά οι περισσότεροι εν που το ΗΙΕ Society.

Translation: Eliza, Evie who studies in LSE, Margaret in City, John [...] but there are others as well, I mean...Eliana, Gabrielle who is in HEI, the guys that live in euston...they are a lot, basically most of them are in HEI Cypriot Society.

- **Eliza:** Starting πρώτα με τον Alexandro, εν ο καλύτερος μου φίλος, εε η Adrienne, ο Γιάνγκου (Αντρέας), εε η Chrissie, η Ιωάννα που εν members τούτοι του Society, εε ποιους άλλους να σου πώω...ο Σολωμής, ο John...εεε πολλοί πολλοί...ο Γκιούλα που εγίναμεν φίλοι [...] οι περισσότεροι μου φίλοι κακά τα ψέματα είναι το committee και πολλά από τα members του Society.

Translation: Starting with Alexandros, he is my best friend, ee Adrienne, Yiangou (Andreas), ee Chrissie, Joanna all of which are members of the Society, ee who else should I say...Solomis, John...ee a lot, a lot...Gyula with whom I became friends [...] let's not lie most of my friends are the Committee and a lot of people form the Society members.

- **Michael:** Ε ο Νικόλας, ο Thanos, οι συγκατοικοι μου ο Γιώργος Κάρπασος, η Φαίδρα, η Θάλεια ξέρω 'γώ η Ηλιάνα, η Γαβριέλλα,...ο Alexandros, ο Γιάνγκου (Αντρέας)...έσιει κάμποσους.

Translation: E Nicholas, Thanos, my roommates George Karpasos, Fedra, Thalia, I don't know Eliana, Gabrielle,...Alexandros, Yiangkou (Andreas)....they are too many.

APPENDIX D

Appendix D1

E-mail Categorization of e-mails circulated throughout 2007-2010 on the basis of date, content and language characteristics

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
November 2007	1. 9/11/2007	Subject: Futsal Match Topic: Informing the members that a futsal match has been organized by the society. Contact numbers are given out for anyone who wishes to participate.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	2. 12/11/2007	Subject: Demonstration Topic: Inviting members to attend the Demonstration against the Illegal declaration of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus".	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	3. 13/11/2007	Subject: Demonstration Arrangements Topic: Informing members about meeting arrangements (time and place) with regards to the Demonstration.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	4. 16/11/2007	Subject: Society News 2 Topic: Informing the members about a) Arrangements of meeting time for the musical Lion King, b) Time and place specifications for an arranged friendly football match with a Cypriot society of another University, c) A party organized by another Cypriot society in London, providing a link to the event for further information, d) Information about time, place and contact numbers regarding a 'Μπουζούκια Night' organized by yet another Cypriot society.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
November 2007	5. 21/11/2007	Subject: London shakes the Greek way Topic: Information about a Greek Party “London Shakes the Greek way” at a London club. Information include time, place and contact numbers.	Platform of Communication: English Style: Formal
	6. 21/11/2007	Subject: Event Clarification Topic: Clarification about the event “London Shakes the Greek way”. The e-mails clarifies that the events is organized by another London Cypriot Society.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
December 2007	7. 28/11/2007	Subject: The Annual Christmas Party Topic: Informing the members about the upcoming ‘Χριστουγεννιάτικο Πάρτι’, which the society organizes in collaboration with two other Cypriot Societies. Information on location, date, time, ticket prices and contact numbers are given.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
January 2008	8. 10/12/2007	Subject: Website Update Topic: Informing the members that the society's website has been updated and photos from the Annual Christmas Party have been added.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	9. 14/12/2007	Subject: Χριστουγεννιάτικες ευχές- Christmas Wishes Topic: Thanking members for their support on the Annual Christmas Party, Christmas wishes and reference to what will follow.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	10. 8/1/2008	Subject: Καλωσορίσατε- Welcome Back Topic: Welcoming back the members and wishing them good luck with their exams.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	11. 14/1/2008	Subject: Κόψιμο Βασιλόπιτας- Vasilopitta Topic: Informing the members about an upcoming event called 'Κόψιμο Βασιλόπιτας', which will take place on the 17 th of January. Time, location and contact numbers are given.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
February 2008	12. 28/1/2008	Subject: End-of-year trip destinations! Topic: Informing the members about the 3 possible destinations for the end-of-year trip. The members are requested to vote and send their preferences along with their names by the set date by replying to the e-mail.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	13. 30/1/2008	Subject: Wicked Musical Topic: Informing the members that after the successful organization/attendance to the first a Musical, the society has organized a second one. Information about tickets, date, time and contact numbers are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	14. 3/2/2008	Subject: Voting Results and Update Topic: The members are being informed about the end-of-year trip destination after all the votes were collected. The members are also reminded about the musical.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	15. 10/2/2008	Subject: End-of-Year Trip IMPORTANT Topic: The members are greeted in Spanish, as the end-of-year trip destination is Barcelona, Spain. The e-mail informs members about the trips costs and dates. Members interested in participating are requested to reply to the e-mail by a set date.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	16. 15/2/2008	Subject: Thank you! Topic: Thanking everyone who has expressed interest in the end-of-year trip and notifying them that they will be contacted shortly with details. Additionally, wishes for a good trip are expressed to those who are flying back to Cyprus to vote for the Presidential elections.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
	17. 19/2/2008	Subject: FW: Taksidaki! Topic: The e-mails of the people attending the trip are deliberately shown, so that they can see who is going to the trip. These people are requested to submit the sum of £100 to the specified bank account by the set date for the trip expenses.	Language Choice: Greek-Cypriot dialect written in Roman characters.. Style: Informal, use of 1 st person
	18. 19/2/2008	Subject: FW: Important Flight Information Topic: The members attending the trip are requested to provide their passport details by the set day, so that it becomes possible to book the tickets for the trip.	Language Choice: Greek-Cypriot dialect written in Roman characters.. Style: Informal, use of 1 st person
	19. 20/2/2008	Subject: Reminder Topic: The Chair reminds the members attending the trip about the set day in which they will have to deposit the money for the trip. Members are reminded that if they have any problems they should contact him on his cell-phone.	Language Choice: Greek-Cypriot dialect written in Roman characters.. Style: Informal, use of 1 st person
	20. 21/2/2008	Subject: Trip Changes- URGENT Topic: The Chair informs the members that the dates for the trip had to be changed, due to the fact that some people will not have finished their exams by the date agreed. New dates have been arranged and members are requested to notify him to if they are still available for the new trip dates.	Language Choice: Greek-Cypriot dialect written in Roman characters.. Style: Informal, use of 1 st person

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
	21. 22/2/2008	Subject: Ticket Booking! Topic: the Chair gives the exact dates of the trip, and the times of departure and arrival, and the reason for booking the specific flights. He suggests a number of hotel names he found and urges the members to make their own suggestions. Additionally, he wishes 'kali psifo' to the people that are in Cyprus for the elections.	Language Choice: Greek-Cypriot dialect written in Roman characters. Style: Informal, use of 1 st person
	22. 25/2/2008	Subject: FW: easyJet booking reference: ED89143 Topic: The electronic ticket for the trip is forwarded to the people who are traveling.	N/A
	23. 27/2/2008	Subject: Elections 2008 Topic: The members are informed that initially the society's committee was formed by people who expressed interest in supporting such a group. After two successful years in achieving more than expected, the society announces the beginning of election for the academic year 2008/2009. Members interested are requested to write a 150 word document expressing their interest in the positions outlined and outlining their goals by the set date. Applicants have to be registered members of the society.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	24. 29/2/2008	Subject: Hotel and Coach Booking Topic: The Chair informs the members traveling with the society to Barcelona that the he has booked accommodation for the trip, how he chose the particular hotel and how the money issue will be arranged.	Language Choice: Greek-Cypriot dialect written in Roman characters. Style: Informal, use of 1 st person

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
March 2008	25. 3/3/2008	Subject: "Clean Monday" Topic: The members are informed that the society in collaboration with another Cypriot society will celebrate 'Clean Monday' in the Lincoln's Inn Fields. Directions to the park are provided. Members are also reminded about the deadline for submitting the document of those interested in a position in the society.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	26. 4/3/2008	Subject: Accomodation and Coach Topic: The Chair informs the members travelling to Barcelona that he has booked transport to the airport, and how money issues will be sorted out. Additionally he apologizes for the previous confusing e-mail by saying his had fever.	Language Choice: Greek-Cypriot dialect written in Roman characters. Style: Informal, use of 1 st person
	27. 4/3/2008	Subject: FW: Coach ticket confirmation Topic: The electronic ticket of the coach booking is forwarded to members.	N/A
	28. 9/3/2008	Subject: Kathara Deutera- change of plans! Topic: Members are informed that due to the inability to predict if the weather will be appropriate for the picnic, they are advised to all gather outside the other University's Students' Union. If the weather is ideal they will proceed to the park. Information about the time and a map of the location are provided.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	29. 12/3/2008	Subject: KCLCYSOC Committee 2008-09 Topic: Members are informed that the deadline for the submission of applications for the elections for the new committee has now passed and the process is finalized. The names of people taking up new positions, starting from the pre-departure meeting in September, are outlined.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
April 2008	30. 12/3/2008	Subject: Work Opportunities Topic: Members are forwarded a message involving work opportunities and course training.	Language Choice: English Style: N/A
	31. 21/3/2008	Subject: Papakwnstantinou - Thiveos Concert! Topic: Members are informed about a concert by two famous Greek rock artists. Location, date, time, ticket prices and contact numbers are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	32. 23/3/2008	Subject: End-of-term wishes! Topic: The society wishes a restful and enjoyable break to all its members after the second term has come to an end.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal, with intersentential code-switch
	33. 17/4/2008	Subject: Ευχές- Πάσχα Topic: The society wishes its members ‘Καλή Ανάσταση’ and outlines a number of Greek Orthodox Churches for the members that due to exams and lessons will be in London for the Holly Week, along with location maps and addresses.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Note: ‘Καλή Ανάσταση’ is not translated in the English version. Style: Formal
May 2008	34. 1/5/2008	Subject: Room to let Topic: The Society wishes its members ‘Χριστός Ανέστη’ and forwards a message send to the Chair regarding a room let.	Language Choice: English with switch to Greek when expressing the wish. Style: Formal
June 2008	35. 6/5/2008	Subject: Καλές Επιτυχίες- Good Luck- Bonne Chance Topic: the Society wishes to its members, good luck with their exams.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
July 2008 August 2008	36. 3/6/2008	Subject: Dinner Friday Topic: The chair sends an e-mail to the people traveling to Barcelona, informing them that he has made a dinner booking in a restaurant for all the people to meet before the trip and to discuss final details. Information about time and location are provided.	Language Choice: Greek-Cypriot dialect written in Roman characters. Style: Informal, use of 1 st person
	37. 13/6/2008	Subject: Καλοκαιρινές Ευχές- Summer Wishes Topic: On behalf of the Committee the Chair thanks the members for their support throughout the year and wishes them to have a nice summer. He wishes those people graduating a bright future and career. The members are also urged to make any suggestions that they believe would make the society better. If accommodation issues arise members are urged to contact the society. Members from Greece are given information about a scholarship that the University provides. Last, 4 committee members who will not hold any committee positions are thanked for their contribution to the society.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	38. 7/7/2008	Subject: FW: Accommodation close to King's College Hospital Topic: The Society informs the members about an accommodation opportunity that has arisen. The relevant e-mail is forwarded.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	39. 7/8/2008	Subject: Pre-Departure Meeting 2008/9 Topic: On behalf of the committee the Chair informs the members and prospective members about the Pre-departure meeting taking place in Nicosia. Prospective as well as already existing members are urged to attend so that they can get to know each other, talk about any troubling issues, about things needed to be done prior to their arrival in the UK, and life in England. Time, location and contact numbers are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
September 2009	40. 1/9/2008	Subject: Pre-Departure Meeting 2008/9- Reminder Topic: Topic: On behalf of the committee the Chair informs the members and prospective members about the Pre-departure meeting taking place in Nicosia. Prospective as well as already existing members are urged to attend so that they can get to know each other, talk about any troubling issues, about things needed to be done prior to their arrival in the UK, and life in England. Time, location and contact numbers are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	41. 17/9/2008	Subject: Κάθε αρχή και δύσκολη... Topic: The Chair is welcoming both existing members as well as freshers' for the new academic year. Members are informed about an article regarding the society, written in a Greek-Cypriot newspaper. Additionally, members are informed about the Fresher's' Fair in which the Cypriot society will be represented and are advised to attend.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal. Quotation from the newspaper article.
	42. 24/9/2008	Subject: Bouat Evening- Νύχτα Μπουάτ! Topic: The society thanks all the members who managed to attend the Fresher's Fair. Members are invited in a Bouat Evening coordinated with a promotions company in which a known band from London, as well as 2 singers of a well known 'Bouzoukia' in London will be singing. Date, location, time, ticket prices and contact numbers are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal.

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
October 2008	43. 4/10/2008	Subject: Society Update 1 Topic: The members are again informed about the Bouat Evening (time, date and location provided) and are also informed about an accommodation opportunity. Contact numbers are given for both notices.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal.
	44. 16/10/2008	Subject: Games Night! Topic: Members are thanked for attending the Bouat Evening. The members are informed about the organization of a Games Night in one of the University's Campus, in which coffee and sandwiches will be offered as well as a number of table games and card games. Date, time and location are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal.
	45. 19/10/2008	Subject: Society Update Topic: Members are informed that the society's website has been updated with new pictures and are urged to have a look to both the photos and the society related article written in the Greek-Cypriot newspaper. Additionally, members are informed about a party organized by another Cypriot society (time, date, ticket prices and contact numbers are provided). Last, the members are informed about a Modern Greek seminar organized by the University, on the Greek-Turkish encounters (time, date and location are provided)	Language Choice: English Style: Formal.
	46. 21/10/2008	Subject: Games Night-Reminder! Topic: Members are reminded that a games night is organized by the society and members are urged to attend and even bring along their own table games. (Time, location and date are provided)	Language Choice: English Style: Formal.

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
November 2008	47. 24/10/2008	Subject: Ζήτω το Ελληνικό Τραγούδι- Celebrating Greek Songs Topic: Members are receiving thanks for their attendance and enthusiasm during the games night. The Society, in collaboration with 3 more Cypriot societies of other Universities, invites the members to an event that celebrates Greek songs. Along with the set show, a female student and a band formed by 3 males will be taking part (it is noted that all 4 are members of the society and students at the University). Date, time, location, ticket prices and contact numbers are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	48. 5/11/2008	Subject: Event Reminder! Topic: The Society, in collaboration with 3 more Cypriot societies of other Universities and the support of a promotion company, invites the members to an event that celebrates Greek songs. Date, time, location, ticket prices and contact numbers are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal.
	49. 5/11/2008	Subject: Musical Evening Topic: Members are informed that the society will organize a Musical Evening to watch Les Miserables. Members are informed that the society has negotiated special prices and therefore anyone interested should contact the individual mentioned in the e-mail. Information on date, time and ticket prices for both members and non-members are provided.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	50. 10/11/2008	Subject: Filippas Pliatsikas Concert Topic: The society informs the members about a concert by a famous rock singer Filippas Pliatsikas. The event is supported by 4 Cypriot societies among which the particular HEI Cypriot	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
	51. 11/11/2008	<p>Society. Date, time, location, ticket prices and contact numbers are provided.</p> <p>Subject: Society Newsletter Topic: The society informs its members about the day, location and time in which the Christmas lights will be turned on in Oxford street. Additionally the society informs the members that another Cypriot society organizes a ‘Kafeneio’ night and forwards the relevant message with entrance fees and competition fees (date, time and location are provided).</p>	<p>Language Choice: English Style: Formal</p>
	52. 11/11/2008	<p>Subject: Εκδήλωση Διαμαρτυρίας Topic: Members are informed about the Demonstration against the Illegal declaration of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". The date, time and meeting point are provided for the members who wish to take part.</p>	<p>Language Choice: Greek Style: Formal</p>
	53. 18/11/2008	<p>Subject: Events Update Topic: The members are informed that there are only a few tickets left for the Pliatsikas concert and whoever is interested should contact the person named in the e-mail. Additionally, the society informs the members that another Cypriot society is organizing their annual ‘Bouzoukia Night’ and information on this are seen on the attached message.</p>	<p>Language Choice: English Style: Formal</p>
	54. 21/11/2008	<p>Subject: Annual Christmas Party Topic: The society informs its members that in association with other 4 Cypriot societies are organizing an annual Christmas party in which a famous DJ Nicos Souliotis from Greece will be playing music. Information on date, time, location, ticket prices</p>	<p>Language Choice: English Style: Formal</p>

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
December 2008		for members and non-members, as well as contact numbers for reservations are given.	
	55. 29/11/2008	Subject: Christmas Party Reminder Topic: Members are reminded about the Annual Christmas party, notifying them that tickets are running out. Time, location, ticket prices for members and non-members, as well as contact numbers for reservations are given.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	56. 3/12/2008	Subject: Winter Wonderland Visit Topic: Members are being thanked for participating in the Annual Christmas Party. The society informs members that an informal visit to Winter Wonderland is arranged. Those interested in going should let the people of the committee know and just turn up at the specified day, time and location.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	57. 8/12/2008	Subject: Winter Wonderland Arrangements Topic: Members are informed that for the better organization of the visit to Winter Wonderland a meeting time and point have been agreed upon.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	58. 12/12/2008	Subject: Fwd: Ernst & Young Event Topic: The society informs the members of an attached invitation for E&Y's career event.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	59. 12/12/2008	Subject: Christmas Wishes Topic: On behalf of the committee the Chair thanks the members for their support throughout the term and wishes them Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
January 2009	60. 14/1/2009	Subject: Κόψιμο Βασιλόπιτας- Vassilopitta Topic: The society invites the members to the ‘Santa-Clause pie’ cutting which will occur on campus on the 21 st of January. A priest will be present in the event who will be reading a blessing for the members. Information about the day, time and location is provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Note: Κόψιμο της Βασιλόπιτας is translated with as a culturally exerted translation (Βασιλόπιτα= Πίτα του Βασίλη= Pie of Santa) ‘Santa-Clause pie Cutting’, as such practice does not exist in the English culture. In addition the word ‘αγιασμός’ is translated as blessing and not sanctification (to purify by giving moral sanction to someone). Style: Formal
	61. 14/1/2009	Subject: End of Year Destination Topic: the members are informed that even though the annual trip takes place at the end of the year, a double voting will occur this time in order to get cheaper tickets. The members are urged to vote among the 3 trip destinations and the 2 potential dates for the trip by the set date in which the voting will finish.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	62. 14/1/2009	Subject: End of Year destination-correction Topic: The members are informed that in the English text one of the destinations outlined is not an option, and therefore the destinations are correctly outlined in this e-mail.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	63. 19/1/2009	Subject: Fwd: Κόψιμο Βασιλόπιτας- Vassilopitta Topic: The members are reminded about an event and at the same time reminded to vote for the final trip’s destination. The Society forwards a previously send message reminding the members	Language Choice: English. Note: The reminder is in English while the message being forwarded is in Greek followed by a

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
February 2009		about the cutting of Vassilopita and that a priest will be present. Detailed directions to the room in one of the University's campuses in which this will occur are provided. Graduates and their families are also invited. Day, time and telephone numbers are provided.	subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	64. 21/1/2009	Subject: Society Update Topic: The members are informed that after the voting process this year's destination is Berlin and will be taking place at the end of the year. Additionally, the members are informed about an event of another Cypriot society. All information is provided on the forwarded message.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	65. 27/1/2009	Subject: Intersociety Futsal Match Topic: The society informs the members that the University's student Union has organized an intersociety futsal tournament. Members who are available and interested in playing should contact the society by replying to this mail.	Language Choice: English. Note: The document is in English throughout with humorous code-switching occurrences Style: Formal
	66. 3/2/2009	Subject: PhD + MA opportunity Topic: The society informs the members about a new prospect for a 3-year PhD scholarship in any aspect of Hellenic Studies by attaching the relevant flyer.	Language Choice: English. Style: Formal
	67. 7/2/2009	Subject: Alumni Play : "The City" at the Lion & Unicorn Theatre Topic: The society informs the members about a play organized by an alumni member of the University. Information about day, time, location and contact number is given.	Language Choice: English. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
	68. 10/2/2009	Subject: End of year trip!! Topic: The society informs the members about the date and destination of the annual trip. The estimated cost of the trip is provided, as well as a note that the society will be sponsoring part of the trips expenses. Anyone interested is urged to reply to this e-mail.	Language Choice: English. Note: The greeting is a code-switch to German, which is related to the destination of the trip, Berlin. Style: Formal
	69. 13/2/2008	Subject: The Cyprus Problem Topic: Members are urged to read the attached non-political, independently written information leaflet regarding the Cyprus Problem, written as part of a coordinated effort by many London Universities.	Language Choice: English. Style: Formal
	70. 20/2/2009	Subject: EFEK Elections Topic: Members are informed about the annual elections 'ΕΦΕΚ'. Information provided include: day, voting times, location and voting duration. Anyone interested in voting should present their Cyprus Identity Card. A sample of a voting sheet is also attached in the e-mail.	Language Choice: Greek. Style: Formal
	71. 27/2/2009	Subject: Fwd: Centre for Hellenic Studies, Late Antique & Byzantine Seminar, Tuesday 3 March Topic: The society directly forwards a message regarding a seminar in the Centre of Hellenic studies.	N/A
	72. 27/2/2009	Subject: Fwd: Reminder: CHS Book Launch 2nd March 2009 Topic: The society directly forwards a message regarding a Hellenic Studies book launch	N/A

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
March 2009	73. 28/2/2009	Subject: Green Monday Gathering Topic: The society wishes its members to have fun during the week of 'Καρναβάλι'. In that context the members are invited to attend a Green Monday Gathering (Green Monday marks the end of Καρναβάλι) at the University's Student Union Hall in one of the campuses. The set day is in accordance with the day of celebrating this in the Christian Orthodox religion and tradition. Time and location are provided.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent translation in English. Note: The Greek version includes a quotation frequently heard in Limassol's famous Καρναβάλι parade. Notably, the English version lacks any mention of the relevant quotation. Style: Formal
	74. 2/3/2009	Subject: Fwd: Centre for Hellenic Studies Additional Seminar, 6 March 2009 Topic: The society directly forwards a message regarding a seminar in the Centre of Hellenic studies.	N/A
	75. 12/3/2009	Subject: KCLSU Elections Topic: The members are informed that the student Union is holding student elections. The society attaches the manifesto by one of the candidates and friend of the society for the position of President. Members are urged to take part in the online voting.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	76. 12/3/2009	Subject: Cypriot Society Committee Elections 2009-2010! Topic: The society announces the beginning of Committee elections that will serve for the academic year commencing 2009/2010. The positions are outlined. Anyone interested is urged to send a 150word manifesto explaining their interest in the Society and outlining their targets and possible contribution and a passport photograph by the set date to the given e-mail. In case where more than 1 candidate applies for the same position elections will follow.	Language Choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

Period	Date	Content	Characteristics
	77. 18/3/2009	Subject: Cypriot Society Charity Night Topic: The society informs the members that in collaboration with another Cypriot society a live music night will be held in order to raise money for charity and in particular the Alkyonides Foundation. Members are informed that a member of the society will be playing with his band at the event. It is noted that all profits from tickets will be donated to the foundation. Day, time, location, ticket prices and contact numbers for reservations are provided. A flyer is attached.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	78. 20/3/2009	Subject: Thank you for your interest Topic: The society thanks everyone who has expressed an interest in becoming part of the new committee. Members are informed that details of the election procedure will follow shortly.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	79. 20/3/2009	Subject: Fwd: Centre for Hellenic Studies, Late Antique & Byzantine Seminar, Tuesday 24 March Topic: The society directly forwards a message regarding a seminar in the Centre of Hellenic studies.	N/A
	80. 20/3/2009	Subject: Charity event! Topic: The society reminds the members about the live music night which in collaboration with another Cypriot society will be held in order to raise money for charity. Members are informed that a member of the society will be playing with his band at the event. Day, time, location, ticket prices and contact numbers for reservations are provided.	Language Choice: English Style: Formal
	81. 30/3/2009	Subject: Happy Easter-Elections Topic: the society wishes to the members an enjoyable break and a	Language Choice: English

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
April 2009	82. 27/4/2009	Happy Easter, even making reference to Cypriot Souvla! The members are also informed that due to the fact that no nominees standing for the same positions in the Committee elections, there will be no elections and the names of the people holding positions for the Committee of 2009-2010 are outlined. Subject: Xristos Anesti! Topic: The society wishes its members 'Xristos Anesti', and all the best with their exams.	Style: Formal Language Choice: English. Note: Even though the whole e-mail is in English the wish 'Xristos Anesti' is a code-switch to Greek, written however with Roman characters. Style: Formal
June 2009	83. 10/6/2009	Subject: Flatmate needed Topic: The Society forwards a message to its members who might be looking for accommodation and might be interested in sharing a flat.	Language Choice: English Note: The forwarded message is in Greek
July 2009	84. 11/6/2009	Subject: Summer wishes- see you next year Topic: This is a farewell e-mail to three former committee members and a welcoming to the new members. Plans for next year are set out.	Language choice: English
	85. 17/6/2009	Subject: Fw: Accomodation close to HEI and Maudsley Topic: Forwarded message from a Greek female doctor about accomodation.	Language: English
	86. 17/6/2009	Subject: Fw: Accomodation close to HEI and Maudsley Topic: Forwarded message from a Greek female doctor about accomodation.	Language: English

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
July 2009	87. 28/7/2009	Subject: Flatmate wanted Topic: Forwarded message about flatshare	Language choice: English. Style: Formal Note: Forwarded message is in Greek.
August 2009	88. 31/8/2009	Subject: Pre-departure meeting Topic: Invitation to the Society's pre-departure meeting. Benefits for attending are outlined while contact details of specific committee members, the Society's e-mail and website link are provided for any inquiries prospective members may have.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
September 2009	89. 7/9/2009	Subject: Looking for flatmates? Topic: The Society forwards two messages regarding two girls' search for flatmates.	Language choice: English Style: Formal Note: The first of the forwarded messages is both in English and Greek, while the second one is solely in Greek.
	90. 13/9/2009	Subject: Flatmate Wanted Topic: The Society forwards a message regarding flatsharing with a young female.	Language choice: English Style: Formal Note: Forwarded message is in Greek.
	91. 16/9/2009	Subject: Part time work--Student Ambassador scheme Topic: The Society informs its members about an opportunity for part-time work at HEI University and forwards the original message.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
October 2009	92. 19/9/2009	Subject: Flatmate Needed Topic: The Society forwards a message by one of its members (Eugene) who is looking for a flatmate.	Language choice: English Style: Formal Note: The forwarded message is in Greeklish.
	93. 21/9/2009	Subject: Welcome Topic: The Society welcomes the members into the new academic year and informs the members about the Fresher Fair and discount benefits through registration in the Society. It also informs the members that they will soon be receiving e-mails about Society events.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	94. 3/10/2009	Subject: Informal drinks, Wednesday @ the Waterfront! Topic: On behalf of the Society the committee's web-officer invites members to a gathering in which members will have the opportunity to meet each other.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	95. 9/10/2009	Subject: Dinner Invitation Topic: The Society thanks the members for attending the 'Waterfront drinks' event and invites the members for dinner at a Greek well-known live music restaurant. Prices and committee members' contact details are provided for the purchase of tickets. The members are also informed that they can now register in the Society online.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
	96. 19/10/2009	Subject: Fw: [Cypriot-Society] Greek Me Up Topic: Society forwards a message about a Greek party organized by another Cypriot Society.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	97. 21/10/2009	Subject: Society Trip Topic: The Society announces to members the decided destination for the annual trip in March. The date had been decided after careful consideration of the work load during exams and the Easter holidays period. Trip dates and price are provided along with the deadline for deposits. Any members interested are urged to reply to the e-mail	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	98. 21/10/2009	Subject: Clarification; Society Trip Topic: The Society explains the committee members' decision to transfer the trip date from summer to March. The dates of the trip are clarified and members are urged to confirm with their department their end-of-term dates.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	99. 25/10/2009	Subject: Musical event: We will rock you! Topic: The Society informs the members about the upcoming musical event with details on the date and ticket prices. Members are informed that the number of tickets is limited and therefore they will be sold on a first come first served basis. Contact numbers of committee members selling tickets are provided. Also prices for members and non-members are given.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation. Style: Formal
	100. 29/10/2009	Subject: Deloitte career opportunities event Topic: Message forwarded regarding a career event at HEI University that was originally the committee's Chair.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
November 2009	101. 2/11/2009	Subject: Musical-Reminder Topic: Members are reminded of the musical night arranged by the Society and are informed that a limited number of tickets are available. Prices and contact numbers are provided.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	102. 13/11/2009	Subject: Αντικατοχική Εκδήλωση 15 ^{ης} Νοεμβρίου ενάντια στην ανακήρυξη του ψευδοκράτους. Topic: The Society informs the members about a demonstration organized by NCSU (National Cypriot Student Union) providing details on the place, time and date. Members are invited to unite in expressing their disapproval against the declaration of the turkisch republic of Cyprus. Meeting points and time are provided for anyone who wishes to participate. Finally members are invited to follow orders from the organizers and the police and keep the demonstration peaceful.	Language choice: Greek Style: Formal
	103. 13/11/2009	Subject: Football match Vs. Imperial Topic: Members are invited to a football match against the Cypriot Society Imperial College. Possible days and time for the organization of the match are provided. Members interested are urged to contact one of the committee members as soon as possible.	Language choice: Greekglish Style: Informal
	104. 18/11/2009	Subject: Update Topic: The Society forwards a message about a Greek party organized by a different university's Cypriot Society. Additionally, the Society includes information regarding a Greek party jointly organized by various Cypriot Societies amongst which the HEI Cypriot Society. Prices and contact numbers are provided.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
	105. 18/11/2009	Subject: "...Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο..." Topic: The Society communicates to its members a quoted article from a Cypriot newspaper paying tribute to the 17 th of November Athens Polytechic Uprising.	Language choice: Greek Style: Formal
	106. 27/11/2009	Subject: Annual Greek Christmas Party 2009 Topic: The Society informs the members about the upcoming Christmas party it organizes in collaboration with other Cypriot Societies. Location, date and time are provided. Ticket prices are provided for members and non-members as well as committee members' contact details from which tickets can be purchased.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation Style: Formal
	107. 27/11/2009	Subject: Games Night Wednesday 2 nd December Topic: Members are informed about the 'Games night' event organized by the Society at the Student Union hall in one of the universities campuses. Contact details are provided for any information required.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation Style: Formal
	108. 30/11/2009	Subject: Games Night Reminder!!! Topic: Members are reminded about the upcoming 'Games night' event. Members are informed about arrangements made for their entertainment (table games and X-box). Members are also informed that fasting-food suitable for people who are fasting will be served. Finally, members are informed that tickets for the Society'.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
December 2009	109. 28/12/2009	Subject: Christmas Wishes Topic: The Society wishes to its members MerryChristmas and Happy New year and hopes that members have enjoyed the events of the previous semester. The Society informs the members that many things are in store for the new year such as their March annual trip.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
January 2010	110. 7/1/2010	Subject: HEI visit to Cyprus Topic: The Society informs its members that HEI will be visiting Cyprus and giving information to prospective students. Any members who know any relatives or acquaintances that plan to enrol at the University are urged to forward the e-mail.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	111. 11/1/2010	Subject: Fw: History and Culture of the Ionian Islands Topic: The Society forwards an e-mail from the University's Hellenic Centre regarding a call of papers for a seminar entitled "The History and Culture of the Ionian isands".	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	112. 11/1/2010	Subject: An icy welcome! Topic: The Society welcomes the members to snow-covered London and wishes them good luck with their upcoming assessments. Members are informed that there will be a Vasilopitta event soon.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	113. 14/1/2010	Subject: Κόψιμο Βασιλόπιτας-Vasilopita Topic: Members are invited to the Santa-Claus pie-cutting which will take place on campus. A price will be givent to the person finding the coin in the cake. A priest will also be present performing sanctification. Date, time, location and contact numbers are provided.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
February 2010	114. 20/1/2010	Subject: Fwd: Κόψιμο Βασιλόπιτας-Vasilopita Topic: The Society forwards a previous e-mail sent to the members regarding the Santa-Claus pie-cutting event.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation Style: Formal
	115. 25/1/2010	Subject: Sky HIGH-NEPOMAK.UK Club Night Topic: The Society forwards an invitation to a party organized from NEPOMAK; an organization of the UK based Cypriots.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	116. 25/1/2010	Subject: Διάλεξη του Υπ. Εξωτερικών της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας για το Κυπριακό Topic: The Society forwards an invitation to a lecture given by the Cyprus Minister of External Affairs organized by NCSU (National Cypriot Student Union). Location, date and time are given.	Language choice: English Style: Formal Note: Forwarded message is in Greek
	117. 26/1/2010	Subject: Fwd: Times Student Survey Topic: The Society forwards an advertisement regarding a job opportunity.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	118. 9/2/2010	Subject: PwC Cyprus Presentation, 24 Feb Topic: The Society forwards an e-mail with an attached invitation directed to students of HEI, Imperial and City University regarding a presentation from the Price Waterhouse Coopers of Cyprus.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation Style: Formal
	119. 21/2/2010	Subject: Save the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at HEI Topic: The Society kindly requests the members to sign the petition form against the dissolution of the Byzantine and Greek studies department of HEI University. The e-mail is presented as a matter of urgency.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
	120. 22/2/2010	Subject: Fwd: CHS Seminar Details Topic: The Society forwards information on upcoming seminars organized by the Hellenic Centre of HEI University.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	121. 23/2/2010	Subject: Entehnos Live Topic: The Society forwards an invitation to a rock-music concert given by a student band at Camden.	Language choice: English Style: Formal Note: Forwarded message is in Greek
	122. 24/2/2010	Subject: “Εντέχνως Live” EVENT - CORRECTION Topic: Members are informed about a correction that needs to be made with regards to the previous e-mail: tickets will be sold by the Society and not from third parties. Name and contact number of the committee member providing tickets are given. Members are informed that an ID will be required at the entrance of the concert hall.	Language choice: Greek Style: Formal
	123. 27/2/2010	Subject: Fwd: HEI for haiti Topic: The Society forwards an e-mail urging members to purchase two recorded songs by Greek students in an effort to raise money for Haiti earthquake victims.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	124. 27/2/2010	Subject: fwd: Leukaemia Society Topic: Forwarded message regarding a dinner and dance fundraising event organized by the Leukaemia Society.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	125. 28/2/2010	Subject: Fwd: Urgent Appeal Topic: The Society forwards an urgent appeal from the Leukaemia Society for donor volunteers.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
	126. 1/3/2010	Subject: Cypriot Society Elections Topic: The members are informed that elections will be held for the 2010-2011 Society's committee. Members interested in becoming part of the committee are urged to send their manifesto by the specified deadline. Available positions are outlined while it is specified that for the positions of President and Vice-President one years experience in the committee is required.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation Style: Formal
	127. 3/3/2010	Subject: Cyprus High Commission Events Topic: The Society informs the members about two upcoming events organized by the Cyprus High Commission. Members are urged to attend in order to support the work of High Commission and the 50 th anniversary of the Republic of Cyprus.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	128. 10/3/2010	Subject: High Commission of the Republic of Cyprus – Upcoming Events Topic: The Society informs the members about an upcoming event organized by the Cultural Department of the High Commission of the Republic of Cyprus.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	129. 15/3/2010	Subject: Fwd: Hellenic Bankers Association – UK Networking Event Topic: Forwarded message regarding a networking event organized by the Hellenic Bankers Association.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	130. 15/3/2010	Subject: HEI for Haiti Topic: The Society forwards an e-mail urging members to purchase two recorded songs by Greek students in an effort to raise money for Haiti earthquake victims.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
	131. 19/3/2010	Subject: Annual General Meeting of the HEISU Cypriot Society. Topic: The members are invited to the Society's AGM meeting where overview of the year's activities will be discussed and where elections for the position of Events/Sports Director will be taking place.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	132. 19/3/2010	Subject: Elections CORRECTION Topic: members are informed that an error has occurred in the previous e-mail and are urged to disregard the position and candidate information provided in that e-mail. Members are informed that they will be updated with correct information very soon.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	133. 22/3/2010	Subject: Elections/AGM Topic: This e-mail provides the amended information regarding the elections. Members are invited to the AGM meeting where overview of the year's activities will be discussed and where elections for the position of External Relations/PR Officer will be taking place.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	134. 23/3/2010	Subject: Voting Procedure by Email Topic: Members are informed that due to some members' difficulty in attending the AGM the voting procedure will be carried out via e-mail voting. Members are invited to use their HEI e-mail, state their choice of candidate for the External Relations/ PR position clearly and vote within the approved time deadline.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
May 2010	135. 25/3/2010	Subject: Election Results Topic: The Society thanks the members for their participation in the elections. The winner of the elections is announced and the names and positions for the 2010/11 committee members are outlined.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	136. 1/5/2010	Subject: Fwd: Flat available - please forward - Urgent Topic: The Society forwards an e-mail regarding accommodation.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	137. 25/5/2010	Subject: Female Flatmate Wanted Topic: The Society quotes an e-mail regarding accommodation.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
July 2010	138. 27/5/2010	Subject: Fw: UCY Workshops Topic: The Society forwards an e-mail about the University of Cyprus workshops in London in collaboration with NEPOMAK.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	139. 1/7/2010	Subject: Fw: cypriot student questionnaire Topic: The Society forwards an e-mai regarding an MA student's search for participants in a questionnaire survey.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	140. 12/7/2010	Subject: Goodbye... Topic: The Society's Chair sends his final e-mail as the President. He recalls memories and thanks both committee members and non-members.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
August 2010	141. 18/7/2010	Subject: Fw: On line petition against the Cultural Destruction of Cyprus Topic: The Society forwards an e-mail regarding an on-line petition against the destruction of the cultural heritage of Cyprus. Members are urged to sign the petition and forward the e-mail to their contacts.	Language choice: English Style: Formal
	142. 18/8/2010	Subject: HEI University of London Cypriot Society Pre-departure meeting 2010-2011 Topic: Members are invited to the Society's pre-departure meeting taking place in Nicosia. Location, time and date are provided. Contact details are provided for those who wish to reserve a place at the meeting or require any other information.	Language choice: Greek with subsequent English translation Style: Formal
	143. 26/8/2010	Subject: URGENT: Flatmates wanted Topic: The Society forwards a message regarding two students search for a flatmate.	Language choice: English Style: Formal

Appendix D2

Dinner Invitation sent via e-mail to Society Members. The email is in Greek with a subsequent English translation.

Subject: Dinner Invitation, Friday 16th at Jimmy's!
From: HEI Cypriot Society (heicysoc@googlemail.com)
To: heicysoc@googlemail.com
Sent: Friday, October 09, 2009 2:20:07 AM

Αγαπητοί συμφοιτητές και αγαπητές συμφοιτήτριες,

Θα θέλαμε να σας ευχαριστήσουμε για τη σημαντική παρουσία σας στη χθεσινή συνάντησή μας στο μπαρ Waterfront. Θέλουμε να πιστεύουμε πως, για όσους ήρθαν, αποτέλεσε την αρχή για πολλές νέες και ενδιαφέρουσες φιλίες. Για όσους δεν τα κατάφεραν να παρευρεθούν, μην ανησυχείτε καθόλου, διότι πολλά προγραμματίζονται ήδη για ολόκληρη τη φετινή χρονιά!

Με αφορμή τη δυναμική με την οποία ξεκίνησαμε, πιστεύουμε πως έφτασε η κατάλληλη στιγμή για άλλη μια ψυχαγωγική έξοδο, που έχει κάθε προοπτική να μας μείνει αξέχαστη. Σχεδόν όλοι οι παλαιότεροι, αλλά και αρκετοί από τους νεότερους φοιτητές, θα έχετε ακούσει για τα μπουζούκια του Τζίμη: φαΐ, ποτό και άρωμα από ελληνικά μπουζούκια!

Σας προσκαλούμε σε δείπνο, λοιπόν, την επόμενη **Παρασκευή 16 Οκτωβρίου, και ώρα 8.30μμ. στα μπουζούκια Τζίμης**, διεύθυνση 23 Frith Street, Soho, London, W1D 4RS. Πλησιέστεροι σταθμοί είναι το Leicester Square και το Tottenham Court Road.

Η τιμή του εισιτηρίου θα περιλαμβάνει φαγητό για όλους, καθώς και ένα ποτό, στην τιμή των **£13 για μέλη και £15 για μη μέλη**.

Αργότερα, όταν το φαγητό θα τελειώσει, ο Τζίμης θα μετατραπεί σε ρεμπετάδικο και εκεί θα αρχίσουν οι χοροί! Όσοι επιθυμούν να παραμείνουν στην επιπλέον κράτηση που θα γίνει για ποτό αργότερα στη βραδιά, πρέπει να μας ενημερώσουν καθώς θα αγοράζουν εισιτήριο για το δείπνο.

Λόγω περιορισμένου αριθμού εισιτηρίων, σας ενημερώνουμε πως οι αγορές εισιτηρίων και οι κρατήσεις για ποτό αργότερα, πρέπει να γίνουν μέχρι την επρχόμενη **Τρίτη, 13 Οκτωβρίου**. Εισιτήρια θα κρατούν τα ακόλουθα μέλη της επιτροπής: Alexandros (07840297926), Michael (07912647322), John (07515712432), Chrissie (07595768185) και Thanos (07825809521).

Με την ευκαιρία αυτή, σας ενημερώνουμε πως μπορείτε πλέον να γραφτείτε ως μέλη του Cypriot Society μέσω διαδικτύου, στην ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση: www.fixtureslive.com Το τέλος εγγραφής είναι £5, χρήματα που θα σας επιστραφούν στο πολλαπλάσιο μέσω ειδικών επιχορηγημένων τιμών για τα μέλη σε όλες τις δραστηριότητες της χρονιάς. Επίσης μπορείτε να αποταθείτε στο πλησιέστερο Student Centre του KCLSU σε όλα τα campus του πανεπιστημίου.

Φιλικά,

Η Επιτροπή, HEICySoc

Dear Society members,

We would like to thank everyone who came yesterday to the Waterfront. We believe that it was the start of new friendships for many of you. Those of you who could not attend needn't worry, as many events have already been planned for the whole year!

Building on our current momentum, we thought this would be the right time for another entertaining event, one with every prospect of turning into a memorable night: Probably all the older students and perhaps some newer students as well, will have heard of Jimmy's restaurant: food, drinks, and an aroma of Greek bouzoukia! We hereby invite you to dinner, next **Friday 16th October at 8.30pm, at Jimmy's restaurant**, at 23 Frith Street, Soho, London, W1D 4RS. Closest tube stations are Leicester Square and Tottenham Court Road.

Tickets include food, as well as one drink, at the price of **£13 for members and £15 for non-members**.

Later in the night, live music will start playing and all the dancing will begin! People interested in staying for late night drinks at Jimmy's should let us know when purchasing their dinner tickets: They can do so as part of an additional reservation for drinks.

Due to a limited number of places, we inform you that tickets must be purchased and drinks reservations need to be made by this **Tuesday, 14th October**. Tickets are available from the following committee members: Alexandros (07840297926), Michael (07912647322), John (07515712432), Chrissie (07595768185) and Thanos (07825809521).

We would also like to let you know that you may now register as Cypriot Society members online, at www.fixtureslive.com. The registration cost is £5, and will most definitely be returned to you through special members' prices for our events throughout the year. You can also go to your nearest KCLSU Student Centre, available in most college campuses.

Regards,

The Committee, HEICySoc

Appendix D3

E-mail sent from Society to its members on 1st March 2010 advertising committee elections.

From: **KCL Cypriot Society** (kclcysoc@googlemail.com)

Sent: Monday, March 01, 2010 8:40:26 PM

Αγαπητοί Συμφοιτητές και Συμφοιτήτριες,

Με το τέλος της θητείας του φετινού συμβουλίου να πλησιάζει, και στο πνεύμα των ημερών, **ανακηρύσσουμε εκλογές για το Συμβούλιο που θα υπηρετήσει για το 2010-2011.** Ο Όμιλος είναι μια ιδανική ευκαιρία για εσάς να συμμετέχετε στα κοινωνικά δρώμενα του Πανεπιστημίου μας καθώς και του Λονδίνου και να βάλετε και εσείς το δικό σας σημαδάκι κατά την διάρκεια των σπουδών σας στο King's College London.

Παρακαλούμε όσοι ενδιαφέρονται να αποστείλουν στην πιο κάτω διεύθυνση μια σύντομη παράγραφο 150 λέξεων περίπου, εξηγώντας το ενδιαφέρον τους και περιγράφοντας τους στόχους τους και τι θα ήθελαν να προσφέρουν στον Όμιλο μας μαζί με μια μικρή φωτογραφία μέχρι την **Δευτέρα, 15 Μαρτίου.**

heicysoc@gmail.com

Οι θέσεις είναι οι εξής:

1. President
2. Vice President
3. Vice President
4. Treasurer
5. Events/Sports Officer
6. External/Public Relations Officer
7. Fresher's Director
8. Web Officer

Τονίζεται ότι οι ενδιαφερόμενοι πρέπει να είναι μέλη του Ομίλου και να είναι ξεκάθαροι ως προς τη θέση που ενδιαφέρονται. Για την καλύτερη οργάνωση του Ομίλου και συμβουλίου, όσο αφορά τις θέσεις των President και Vice-Presidents προτεραιότητα θα δοθεί σε άτομα που έχουν ήδη ένα χρόνο πείρας στο συμβούλιο. Εάν δεν υπάρξουν ενδιαφερόμενοι τότε θα ληφθούν υπόψη αιτήσεις από άτομα καινούργια στον συμβούλιο.

Τους ρόλους και υποχρεώσεις τις κάθε θέσης και γενικότερα των μελών του συμβουλίου μπορείτε να βρείτε στο έγγραφο που επισυνάπτεται. Οι υποψήφιοι πρέπει

να είναι εγγεγραμμένα μέλη του Ομίλου κατά την ώρα υποβολής της υποψηφιότητας τους.

Σε περίπτωση ύπαρξης δυο η και περισσότερων ενδιαφερομένων για μια θέση θα ακολουθήσουν εκλογές σύμφωνα με το καταστατικό του Ομίλου. Περισσότερες λεπτομέρειες θα ακολουθήσουν αφού λήξει η προθεσμία υποβολής υποψηφιοτήτων.

Φιλικά,

KCL Cypriot Society Committee

Dear Fellow Students,

With the end of this year's Committee's term, and in the electoral spirit of the past few weeks, we declare **elections for the Committee which is to serve during the 2010-2011 term**. The Society is an ideal opportunity for you to be involved with the social scene at King's as well as in London, together with a chance for you to contribute and leave your mark behind after you have left our University.

For those of you, who are interested, please send a small manifesto of approximately 150 words explaining your interest in the Society, outlining your targets and how you may contribute together with a passport photograph by **Monday 15th March** to the following address:

heicysoc@gmail.com

The positions available are the following:

- President
- Vice President
- Vice President
- Treasurer
- Events/Sports Officer
- External/Public Relations Officer
- Fresher's Director
- Web Officer

All applicants must be members of the Society at the time of application and must state clearly the position they are applying for. For the better organisation and smooth running of the Society, candidates for the positions of President and Vice-Presidents should have one years experience in the Committee. If no candidates with experience apply then candidates new to the committee will be given consideration.

The roles and obligations of each position and of committee members in general is outlined in the attached document.

In the case of more than one person applying for a particular position, elections will be carried out according to our constitution. Further details will follow after the deadline for submission of nominations.

Best Wishes,

KCL Cypriot Society Committee

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CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE

Appendix D4

Document sent by Chrissie to Committee members via e-mail when applying for the Position of Fresher's Director for the 2009/2010 academic year.

Γειά σας ,

Όπως μπορεί να γνωρίζετε ήδη, είμαι πρωτοετής φοιτήτρια (BSC Biomedical Science) και ενδιαφέρομαι για τη θέση 'Fresher's Director' στο συμβούλιο του Κυπριακού Ομίλου του Πανεπιστήμιου μας. Ο λόγος που θα ήθελα να αναλάβω αυτή τη θέση είναι για να μπορέσω να βοηθήσω κι εγώ με τον τρόπο μου τους φοιτητές που θα έρθουν τη χρονιά αυτή. Όταν πήρα την πρόσκληση για το Pre-Departure meeting είχα τους ενδοιασμούς μου, αλλά γρήγορα βρέθηκα σε ένα περιβάλλον γνώριμο και φιλικό, γνώρισα άτομα τα οποία θα μπορούσαν να μου προσφέρουν τη βοήθεια τους ανά πάσα στιγμή και προτού φύγω από την Κύπρο αλλά και τις πρώτες μου μέρες στο Λονδίνο. Την πρώτη μου μέρα στο Λονδίνο, κατάλαβα πόσο σημαντικό είναι να έχεις ανθρώπους δίπλα σου οι οποίοι είναι διατεθειμένοι να σε βοηθήσουν να προσαρμοστείς στις καινούριες συνθήκες που έχεις να αντιμετωπίσεις. Επειδή εγώ βρήκα τέτοιους ανθρώπους μέσα από το Society θα ήθελα κι εγώ με τη σειρά μου να βρίσκομαι δίπλα στους πρωτοετείς φοιτητές μας. Ελπίζω να μου δοθεί η ευκαιρία να προσφέρω ότι μπορώ για μια διασκεδαστική και παραγωγική χρονιά.

Φιλικά,
Chrissie

Translation

[= Hello,

As you may already know, I am a first year student (BSC Biomedical Science) and I am interested in the position 'Fresher's Director' of the Cypriot Society committee of our university. The reason I would like to take over the position is so that I, in my own way, could also help the students who are coming this year. When I got the invitation to the Pre-Departure meeting I had my doubts, but I quickly found myself in a friendly environment, I met people who could be able to offer me their help at any given time prior to leaving Cyprus and during my first days in London. During my first day in London, I realized how important it is to have people at your side who are willing to help you adjust to the new circumstances you have to deal with. Because I found such people in the Society I would like in turn to be there for the first year students. I hope I will be given the chance to offer anything I can for a fun and productive year.

*Regards,
Chrissie]*

Appendix D5

Document sent by Chrissie to Committee members via e-mail when applying for the Position of Fresher's Director during the March 2010 elections. The position for which she applied was for the 2010/2011 academic year.

Χαιρετώ το συμβούλιο μας,
Φέτος, αφού έχω ήδη ζήσει την εμπειρία του να είσαι μέλος του συμβουλίου του Κυπριακού Ομίλου του Πανεπιστημίου μας ενδιαφέρομαι για τη θέση 'External/Public Relations Officer'. Ο λόγος που θα ήθελα να αναλάβω αυτή τη θέση είναι για να μπορέσω να βοηθήσω κι εγώ με τον τρόπο μου στις διάφορες εκδηλώσεις που θα οργανώσουμε αυτή τη χρονιά. Είμαι έτοιμη να αναλάβω πρωτοβουλίες και να βοηθήσω στην οργάνωση οποιουδήποτε 'event' καθώς και να επικοινωνήσω με μέλη άλλων κυπριακών συμβουλίων για την οργάνωση κοινών εκδηλώσεων. Την χρονιά που έρχεται θα ήθελα να δεθούμε περισσότερο σαν όμιλος αλλά και να χτίσουμε φιλίες με φοιτητές από άλλα πανεπιστήμια. Πιστεύω πως ο τρόπος να το κάνουμε αυτό, είναι να έχουμε μια πιο συχνή επικοινωνία με τους υπόλοιπους φοιτητές του πανεπιστημίου μας καθώς και με αυτούς των άλλων πανεπιστημίων μέσω των κοινών μας εκδηλώσεων. Τέλος, ελπίζω να μου δοθεί η ευκαιρία να προσφέρω ότι μπορώ για μια διασκεδαστική και παραγωγική χρονιά.

Φιλικά,
Chrissie

Translation

[= Greetings to our committee,
This year, after experiencing being a member of our university's Cypriot Society I am interested in the position of 'External/Public Relations Officer'. The reason I would like to take on this position is so that I could help in my own way in the different events that we will be organizing this year. I am ready to take initiative and help in the organizing of any event and also contact members of other Cypriot councils for the organization of common events. During the year ahead of us I would like us to bond more as a group but to also build friendships with students from other universities. I believe that the way to do this is to have more regular communication with the rest of the students of our university but also with the students of other universities during our common events. Finally, I hope I will be given the chance to offer everything I can for a fun and productive year.

Best regards,
Chrissie]

Appendix D6

The document below is John's first application for the 2008 Society elections. John's candidature was for the position of Fresher's Director for the 2008/2009 academic year.

ΑΙΤΗΣΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΟ CYPRIOT SOCIETY COMMITTEE 2008/2009

Γεια σας παιδιά. Θα ήθελα να θέσω υποψηφιότητα για τη θέση του **Fresher's Director 2008/09**.

Κυριότερος λόγος για την απόφαση μου αυτή, είναι το γεγονός ότι είμαι (ο ίδιος) πρωτοετής. Έχω πρόσφατα βιώσει τη δραματική μεταπήδηση (μετάπτωση) από τη λυκειακή στη φοιτητική ζωή, μοιράζομαι τις ίδιες δυσκολίες, έγνοιες, επιθυμίες και όνειρα με κάθε πρωτοετή και γι' αυτό όντως γνωρίζω από πρώτο χέρι τι πράγματι χρειάζεται ο κάθε πρωτοετής μας.

Αναλυτικότερα, από τους πρωταρχικούς μου στόχους θα ήτανε η καθιέρωση περισσότερων συναντήσεων μεταξύ συμφοιτητών, ώστε να αναπτύξουν καλύτερες σχέσεις μεταξύ τους και να ζήσουν πιο έντονα τη φοιτητική ζωή. Ως άτομο θα έλεγα είμαι αρκετά οργανωμένος, ανοικτός στις κοινωνικές σχέσεις, εφευρετικός, ενθουσιώδης σ' αυτά που επιλέγω να κάνω, , γι' αυτό και πιστεύω θα μπορούσα να ανταποκριθώ ικανοποιητικά στις αρμοδιότητες οι οποίες μπορεί να μου ανατεθούν από τον πρόεδρο ή οποιοδήποτε άλλο μέλος του συμβουλίου. Ελπίζω πως με τις ιδέες και τις προτάσεις μου θα μπορέσω να προωθήσω τον όμιλό μας τόσο στο δικό μας πανεπιστήμιο όσο και στα υπόλοιπα πανεπιστήμια του Λονδίνου.

Στόχος μου στον τομέα αυτό, είναι η διοργάνωση εκδηλώσεων σε συνεργασία με ομίλους του πανεπιστημίου μας καθώς και με άλλους Κυπριακούς και Ελληνικούς ομίλους του Λονδίνου, προσπαθώντας έτσι να δώσουμε μια διαφορετική και πιο ολοκληρωμένη εμπειρία τόσο στους πρωτοετείς όσο και στους υπόλοιπους φοιτητές. (μοιάζει με τουριστική πρόταση)

Τελειώνοντας, θα ήθελα να ομολογήσω ότι μέσω της μέχρι στιγμής επαφής μου με τον όμιλο ως πρωτοετής, συνειδητοποίησα πως η συμμετοχή μου σε αυτή την ομάδα και ανάμειξη μου στη διοργάνωση διαφόρων εκδηλώσεων, πραγματικά με εκφράζει και θα ήθελα να συμβάλω και εγώ με τον δικό μου τρόπο σε αυτό. Λόγω της σπουδής που ακολουθώ, η παρουσία μου στο HEI θα είναι πολύχρονη, και γι' αυτό ελπίζω πως ξεκινώντας από μια τόσο σημαντική θέση όσο είναι η βελτίωση της φοιτητικής εμπειρίας των πρωτοετών μας, θα αποκτήσω την κατάλληλη εμπειρία για να μπορέσω στο μέλλον να προσφέρω ακόμη περισσότερα στον όμιλό μας.

Σας ευχαριστώ.
John.

Translation

APPLICATION FOR CYPRIOT SOCIETY COMMITTEE 2008/2009

*[= Hi guys. I would like to nominate myself for the position of **Fresher's Director 2008/09**.*

The most important reason for my decision is the fact that I, myself am a freshman. I have recently been through a dramatic jump from high school to university life, I share the same difficulties, concerns, desires and dreams as any freshman and that's why I know firsthand what a freshman really needs.

In more detail, one of my primary aims is to arrange fixed meetings between the students so as to strengthen their relationships and experience more of the student life.

I am a quite organised, inventive; sociable individual and very devoted to whatever it is I choose to do and this is why I believe I would be able to take on all responsibilities or whatever the President of the Society or any other Committee member may ask me to do. I sincerely hope that with these ideas and suggestions I will be able to promote our Society both within the University and to the other Universities of London.

In order to achieve that, I aim to organise events in cooperation with other societies of our University as well as with other Cypriot and Hellenic Societies in London; attempting therefore to give to both the fresher's and the rest of the students an all rounded experience.

Finally, I would like to confess that through my experience in the Society as a fresher, I realized that my involvement and participation in organising various events is something that fascinates me and thus I would like to contribute in any way I can. Moreover, because I am a Medical student and thus I will be a member of HEI for many years so I hope that by starting from the very important position of improving our fresher's experience here, I will gain the necessary experience to be able to contribute further to our Society in the following years.

*Thank you,
John]*

Appendix D7

The document below is John's second application for the 2009 Society elections sent via e-mail. John's candidature was for the position of Events and Sports Officer for the 2009/2010 academic year.

ΑΙΤΗΣΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΟ CYPRIOT SOCIETY COMMITTEE 2009/2010

Γεια σας παιδιά. Θα ήθελα να θέσω υποψηφιότητα για τη θέση του **Events/Sports Officer 2009/10**.

Έχοντας τώρα ήδη ένα χρόνο εμπειρίας στον όμιλο σαν Fresher's Director, πιστεύω πως απέκτησα την απαραίτητη πείρα για να αναλάβω μια θέση με κάποιες περισσότερες αρμοδιότητες. Έχοντας λάβει μέρος στις φετινές δραστηριότητες του ομίλου μας και επίσης έχοντας οργανώσει πολλές άλλες δραστηριότητες στα Halls μου, γνωρίζω από πρώτο χέρι αυτά που χρειάζονται οι φοιτητές για να ζήσουν όσο το δυνατό καλύτερα την φοιτητική τους εμπειρία.

Ακόμη, κατά τη διάρκεια της δεύτερης μου χρονιάς, έχω έρθει σε ιδιαίτερη επαφή με τους Κυπριακούς ομίλους του Imperial και του UCL, πράγμα που πιστεύω θα με βοηθήσει αρκετά στα καθήκοντά μου. Θα μπορώ πιο εύκολα να φέρω τον όμιλό μας σε επαφή με τα άλλα πανεπιστήμια σε διάφορες κοινές αθλητικές και κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες και εκδηλώσεις. Ακόμη, οργανώνοντας events για τα Halls μου, έχω έρθει σε επαφή με άτομα που θα μπορούσαν να μας βοηθήσουν στην οργάνωση δραστηριοτήτων στον όμιλό μας.

Επίσης, ως άτομο, θα έλεγα ότι είμαι αρκετά οργανωμένος, εφευρετικός, ανοικτός στις κοινωνικές σχέσεις και ενθουσιώδης σ' αυτά που επιλέγω να κάνω. Ελπίζω πως με τις ιδέες και τις προτάσεις μου θα μπορέσω να προωθήσω τον όμιλό μας τόσο στο δικό μας πανεπιστήμιο όσο και ανάμεσα στα υπόλοιπα πανεπιστήμια του Λονδίνου.

Για τους παραπάνω λόγους, πιστεύω πως θα μπορούσα να αντεπεξέλθω στις απαιτήσεις του Events/Sports officer.

Σας ευχαριστώ.
John

Translation

APPLICATION FOR CYPRIOT SOCIETY COMMITTEE 2009/2010

*[= Hello guys. I would like to place my nomination for the **Events/Sports Officer 2009/2010** position.*

Having already been part of the Cypriot Society Committee for a year as the Fresher's Director, I believe that I have gained the necessary experience to take on a position with more responsibilities. Having taken part in this year's Society activities and having organised numerous events at my Residence Halls, I know out of firsthand what students may need in order to enjoy student life as much as possible.

Further, during my second year I have also come in contact with the Cypriot Societies of the UCL and Imperial, something that I believe it will assist me to undertake my responsibilities. I will be able to bring our Society in contact with other universities in order to organise all sorts of social and sport activities. Moreover, the fact that I have been organising various events for my Student Halls has brought me in contact with people who may well help us organise events for our Society.

Also, I would like to say that I am a quite organised, inventive, sociable individual and very devoted to whatever it is I choose to do. I sincerely hope that with these ideas and suggestions I will be able to promote our Society both within the University and to the other Universities of London.

For all the above reasons I believe I would meet the requirements for the Events/Sports Officer position.

*Thank you.
John.]*

Appendix D8

The document below is John's third application for the 2010 Society elections sent via e-mail. John's candidature was for the position of Chair for the 2010/2011 academic year.

ΑΙΤΗΣΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΟ CYPRIOT SOCIETY COMMITTEE 2010/2011

Γεια σας παιδιά. Θα ήθελα να θέσω υποψηφιότητα για τη θέση του **Προέδρου 2010-2011**.

Έχοντας τώρα ήδη δύο χρόνια εμπειρίας στον όμιλο σαν Fresher's Director και Event's officer, πιστεύω πως απέκτησα την απαραίτητη πείρα για να αναλάβω την θέση του προέδρου, μια θέση με πολύ περισσότερες αρμοδιότητες. Έχοντας λάβει μέρος στις φετινές δραστηριότητες του ομίλου μας και επίσης έχοντας οργανώσει πολλές άλλες δραστηριότητες, τόσο του ομίλου μας όσο μαζί και με άλλα πανεπιστήμια του Λονδίνου, έμαθα πολλά σχετικά με το τι χρειάζονται οι φοιτητές μας, καθώς επίσης και τι χρειάζεστε ένας όμιλος σαν τον δικό μας για να πετύχει τον στόχο του. Πιστεύω πως θα μπορέσω, μαζί με τα άλλα μέλη του συμβουλίου μας να δώσουμε μια φρέσκια ενέργεια στον όμιλό μας και να καταφέρουμε ακόμα περισσότερα.

Ακόμη, κατά τη διάρκεια της τρίτης μου χρονιάς, έχω έρθει σε ιδιαίτερη επαφή με τους Κυπριακούς ομίλους του Imperial και του UCL, πράγμα που πιστεύω θα με βοηθήσει αρκετά στα καθήκοντά μου. Θα μπορώ πιο εύκολα να φέρω τον όμιλό μας σε επαφή με τα άλλα πανεπιστήμια σε διάφορες κοινές δραστηριότητες και εκδηλώσεις. Οι επαφές μου με άτομα άλλων πανεπιστημίων τόσο εντός όσο και εκτός Λονδίνου καθώς επίσης και με άλλους Κυπριακούς ομίλους, θα με βοηθήσουν να φέρω εις πέρας όσο το δυνατόν καλύτερα το έργο μου.

Επίσης, ως άτομο, θα έλεγα ότι είμαι αρκετά οργανωμένος, εφευρετικός, ανοικτός στις κοινωνικές σχέσεις και ενθουσιώδης σ' αυτά που επιλέγω να κάνω. Ελπίζω πως με τις ιδέες και τις προτάσεις μου θα μπορέσω να προωθήσω τον όμιλό μας τόσο στο δικό μας πανεπιστήμιο όσο και ανάμεσα στα υπόλοιπα πανεπιστήμια του Λονδίνου και να διατηρήσω το HEICYSOC ως ένα από τους κύριους Κυπριακούς ομίλους του Λονδίνου.

Για τους παραπάνω λόγους, πιστεύω πως θα μπορούσα να αντεπεξέλθω στις απαιτήσεις που επιβάλλει η θέση του Προέδρου.

Σας ευχαριστώ.

Γιάννης

Translation

APPLICATION FOR CYPRIOT SOCIETY COMMITTEE 2010/2011

[= Hi guys. I would like to run for the position of Chair for 2010-2011.

Having two years of experience in the Society as Fresher's Director and Event's officer, I believe I gained the necessary experience to take on the position of Chair, a position with many more responsibilities. Having taken part in this year's activities of our Society and also having organized many other activities for our Society and in collaboration with other universities in London, I learned a lot about what our students need, and what a Society like ours needs to achieve its objective. I think I can, along with other members of our Committee, give a fresh energy to our group to achieve even more.

Also, during my third year, I've had great contact with the Cypriot societies at Imperial and UCL, which I think would help a lot in my duties. You can easily bring our group together with other universities in various joint activities and events. My contacts with people of other universities both within and outside of London as well as with other Cypriot societies, would help bring out my best possible work.

Also, I would say that I'm pretty organized, enterprising, open to social relations and enthusiastic in what I choose to do. I hope that with my ideas and suggestions I will be able to promote our Society both within our university and among the other universities of London and keep my HEICYSOC as one of the main Cypriot societies in London.

For these reasons, I believe I can meet the requirements imposed by the position of Chair.

Thank you. John]

Appendix D9

An additional example of the Chair's e-mails sent to the rest of the Committee members.

Date: Sun, 8 Nov 2009 00:58:08 +0000

Subject: update

From: heicysoc@googlemail.com

To: adrianne@hotmail.com; chriessie@hei.ac.uk; thanos@hotmail.com

Kalispera sas!

Isaste oloi se exotika meroi alla etsi gia na xerete fevgw ke egw gia exotika meri avrio.. paw placement sto poole gia 3 vdomades exou ke giati ekamame to meeting ehtes.

Lipon esizitisame diafora themata:

1) Xmas Party itan to kirio thema.. epidi en na lipo afisa ton michel m in charge na sinenoithi me ucl ke imperial an ke kratw ke egw epafi. psahnoume gia horo ke molis ton vroume stis epomenes meres tha kinithoume na tiposoume tickets, na stiloume invites, facebook groups, emails etc.. tha sas enimerosi o michael gia to ti tha gini..

2) end of year trip- epiase me mia kopela p endiaferotan alla en itan sigouri gia tis meres ke ipa tis oti en na kliso monos m pio konta sto kero ke an protima na perimeni mbori na klisi mazi mou para na klisi apo tora.. ektos apo ekini kanenas allos en endiafertike opotan ipa tou pelidi p en sigouros oti en an pai na klisi ta tickets tou analogos mazi me ta ipolipa atoma p theloun (michael, margiea, chriessie etc...) ipologizw oti tha exoume 30 liras to atomo horigia analoga me to poso kala tha pai to xmas party..

3) metaxi twra ke tou xmas party p mallon tha gini 7 dekemvriou eskeftomoun gia games night ke "eprosferthike" o giannys ke o gyula na to organosoun me tin voithia tis adriane ke tis chriessie epidi 2 agoria en na diskoleftoun:p miliste mazi tous, apofasiste imerominia ke peste mou na to pw tou union sto waterloo gia na mboroume na stiloume email egkeros.. egw eprotina tin vdomada prin to xmas party gia na mboresoume na poulisoume tickets kiolas..

4) en tha kamoume ice skating meta officially alla o nicholas elege oti tha ekleie tickets ke tha mas elege opotan vlepoume sti poria..

5) thanos, thelw na teliosi i istoselida prin to xmas party epidi ektos p mena arhise na mourmoura o michael!

auta!

kala na pernate ke tha ta poume sintoma!

Alexandros

Translation

[= Good evening,

All of you are in exotic places, but just for your information, I am leaving tomorrow, for exotic places as well...I am going to Poole for 3 weeks, which is why we had the meeting.

Well, we discussed a lot of issues:

- 1. The Xmas Party was the main issue... because I am going to be away, Michael is in charge to liaise with UCL and Imperial, but I am in contact as well. We are looking for place and as soon as we found what we want, in the next few days we will proceed with printing tickets, to send invitations, facebook groups, emails etc...Michael will inform you on what will be happening*
- 2. End of year trip – a girl that was interested called me, but she was not sure about the dates, so I told her, that I will book by myself later on, closer to the date and if she wants she can book with me , instead of booking now...except her, nobody else is interested, so I told nicholas, who is going for sure, to book his tickets accordingly, together with the rest of the people that they want to go (Michael, Margie, Chrissie, etc....). my estimation is that we will have 30 pounds per person , depending on the amount. The xmas party will do well...*
- 3. In between now and the xmas party, which probably will be on the 7th December, I was thinking for games night, so john and gyula, offered to help with the organisation of the nights, with the help of Adriane and Chrissie, since they are just 2 boys :p. talk to them, and decide on a date, and let me know in order to inform the union in Waterloo for us to send the invitations on time...I suggested the week before our xmas party, so we can sell xmas party tickets, as well...*
- 4. Officially, we are not going Ice skating afterwards, but nicholas was saying that he was going to book tickets and let us know. We will see in due course...*
- 5. Thanos, I want the website to be finished before the xmas party, because except me, Michael started mooning!*

That's all!

Have a nice time and talk to you soon

Alexandros

Appendix D10

The following document is an e-mail attachment sent by the Society' Chair to the other Committee members regarding the Society's trip. Prior to circulating the email to all the members of the Society, the chair attaches the document in his email to Committee members asking for approval or any further suggestions.

Αγαπητοί Συμφοιτητές και Συμφοιτήτριες,

Η ώρα έχει έρθει για το ετήσιο ταξίδι μας! Φέτος, έχοντας υπόψη τις δυσκολίες που προκύπτουν έχουμε αποφασίσει πως το ταξίδι μας θα πραγματοποιηθεί μεταξύ **26-29 Μαρτίου στο Άμστερνταμ, Ολλανδίας**. Η ημέρα 26 Μαρτίου είναι Παρασκευή και είναι η τελευταία μέρα του δευτέρου τριμήνου. Θα φύγουμε το πρωί με επιστροφή Δευτέρα βράδυ εγκαίρως για την καθιερωμένη επιστροφή στο Κύπρο για την Μεγάλη Εβδομάδα του Πάσχα.

Το ταξίδι ενδέχεται να στοιχίσει γύρω στις 170 λίρες σε σύνολο. Για πρώτο στάδιο, και για να πετύχουμε φτηνά αεροπορικά εισιτήρια, έχουμε ορίσει τις 2 Νοεμβρίου ως προθεσμία για καταβολής 70 λιρών στον ακόλουθο λογαριασμό:

Sort code:

Account Number:

Bank:

Παρακαλούμε όπως μας ενημερώσετε για το ενδιαφέρον σας να συμμετάσχετε και για οποιεσδήποτε άλλες ερωτήσεις έχετε.

Φιλικά,

HEI CY SOC Committee

.....

Dear Fellow Students,

The time has come for our annual trip! This year, taking into account the problems which have arisen in the past we have decided that this will take place between the **26th-29th March in Amsterdam, Holland**. The 26th of March is a Friday and it is the last day of the 2nd Term. We will be leaving in the morning and returning Monday evening in time so you can all leave for your return to Cyprus and the Easter Holy Week.

The trip will cost approximately 170 pounds in total. Initially, so that we can make the most of cheap tickets, we have set the 2nd of November as a deadline for paying a 70 pound deposit in the following account:

Sort code:

Account Number:

Bank:

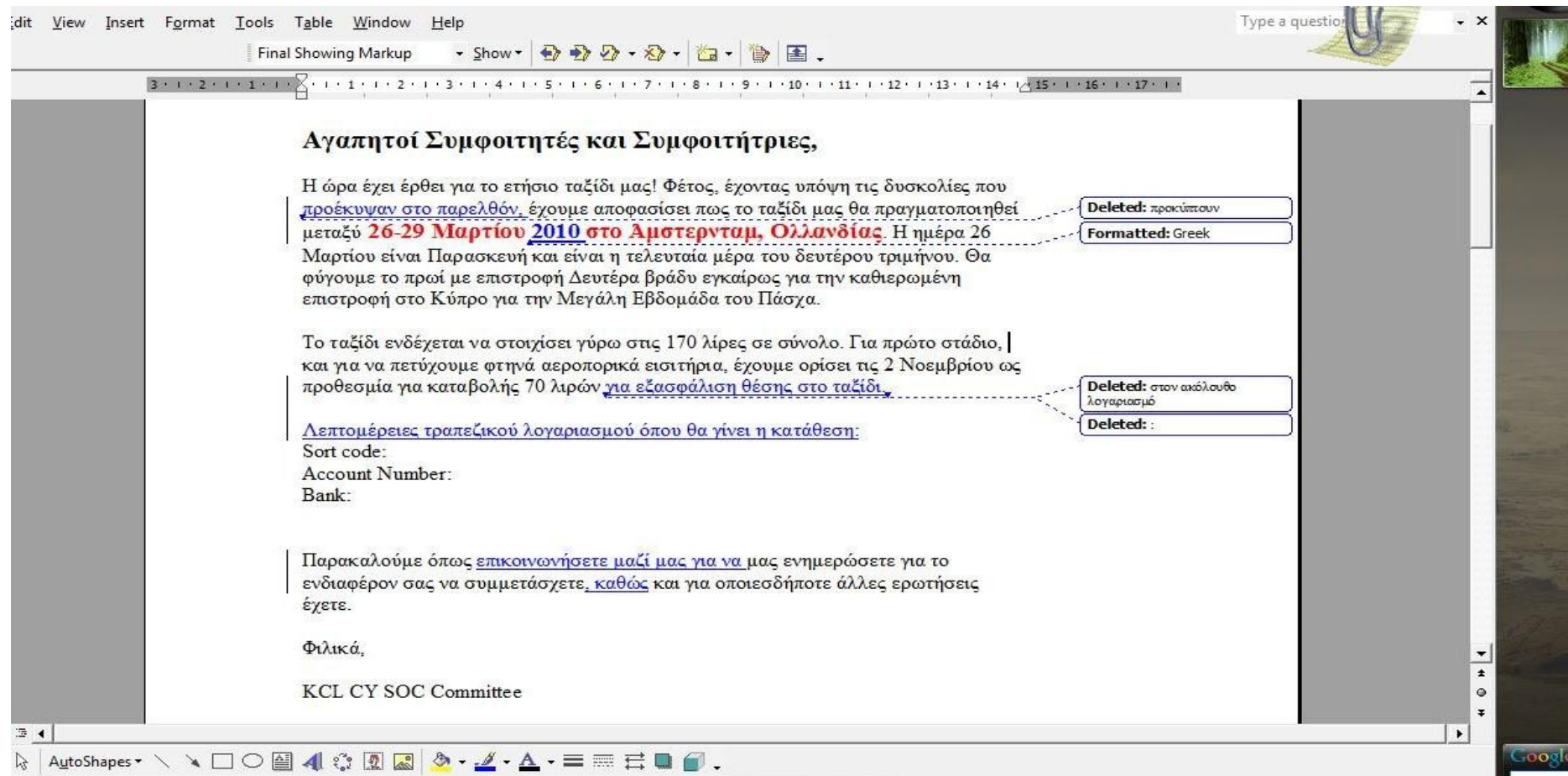
For any further questions and to let us know that you will be attending please don't hesitate to email us.

Best,

HEI CY SOC Committee

Appendix D11

The following document was attached to an e-mail sent by Thanos to the other Committee members. The document shows how Thanos, instead of sending his own suggestions via email just like the other members of the Committee he edits the text by adding comments on the original text.



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File Edit View Insert Format Tools Table Window Help

KCL CY SOC Committee

Dear Fellow Students,

The time has come for our annual trip! This year, taking into account the difficulties which have arisen in the past, we have decided that this will take place between the 26th 29th March 2010 in Amsterdam, Holland. The 26th of March is a Friday and it is the last day of the 2nd Term. We will be leaving in the morning and returning Monday evening, so you can all return to Cyprus in time for the Easter Holy Week.

The trip will cost approximately 170 pounds in total. To take advantage of the cheapest possible tickets, we have set the 2nd of November as the deadline for paying an initial 70 pound deposit to secure your place in the trip.

The deposit account details are as follows: Sort code:
Account Number:
Bank:

Deleted: problems
Formatted: English (U.K.)
Deleted:
Formatted: English (U.K.)
Deleted: in time so you can all leave for your return to Cyprus and the Easter Holy Week.
Deleted: Initially, so that we can make the most of cheap tickets
Deleted: a
Deleted: in the following account.

Page 1 Sec 1 1/2 At Ln Col REC TRK EXT OVR Greek

Appendix D12

Subject: "...Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο..."

From: HEI Cypriot Society

Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2009 12:56:16 AM

Αγαπητοί Συμφοιτητές και Συμφοιτήτριες,

<<Στο Πολυτεχνείο, στην εξέγερση των φοιτητών, της νεολαίας και ολόκληρου του ελληνικού λαού κατά της χουντικής τυραννίας, το Νοέμβριο του 1973. Το Πολυτεχνείο ήταν η κορυφαία εκδήλωση της επτάχρονης αντιχουντικής πάλης και μία από τις κορυφαίες στιγμές των αγώνων του λαού και της νεολαίας.

“Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο.... Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο. Σας μιλά ο ραδιοφωνικός σταθμός των ελεύθερων αγωνιζόμενων φοιτητών , των ελεύθερων αγωνιζόμενων Ελλήνων...” Διαβάζοντας και μελετώντας την ιστορία από την αρχή του 1973 όπως εκφράστηκε με ανεβασμένες μορφές πάλης η λαϊκή αγανάκτηση ενάντια στην αμερικανοκίνητη χούντα.

Η αγανάκτηση αυτή κορυφώθηκε με την κατάληψη του Πολυτεχνείου στις 15 Νοεμβρίου 1973 από 5.000 φοιτητές ενώ ο λαός στους γύρω από το Πολυτεχνείο δρόμους, φωνάζει αντιαμερικανικά και αντιχουντικά συνθήματα όπως «Να φύγει η δικτατορία», «Ψωμί , Παιδεία, Ελευθερία». Την Παρασκευή 16 Νοεμβρίου η εξέγερση των φοιτητών τείνει να πάρει παλλαϊκό χαρακτήρα και τότε επεμβαίνουν τα τανκς, τις πρώτες πρωινές ώρες του Σαββάτου 17 Νοεμβρίου. Λίγο αργότερα το τανκ έριχνε την πύλη του Πολυτεχνείου, παρασύροντας στο θάνατο όσους διαδηλωτές δεν πρόλαβαν να απομακρυνθούν και οι ΛΟΚατζίδες ανέλαμβαναν να αδειάσουν το Πολυτεχνείο από τους διαδηλωτές, ενώ οι αστυνομικοί χτυπούσαν αλύπητα και συλλάμβαναν όποιον έβρισκαν μπροστά τους.

Το πραξικόπημα Ιωαννίδη είχε ήδη ξεκινήσει, καθώς και η πτώση της δικτατορίας με τίμημα την κατάλυση της δημοκρατίας στην Κύπρο με το προδοτικό πραξικόπημα που άνοιξε τις κερκόπορτες της Κύπρου στις ορδές του Αττίλα ο οποίος εδώ και 36 χρόνια συνεχίζει την παράνομη κατοχή Κυπριακού εδάφους.

Για μας το Πολυτεχνείο ήταν και θα είναι πάντα ένα ζωντανό κάλεσμα για τη δημοκρατία και την ελευθερία, θα είναι ζωντανό μέσα σε κάθε ελεύθερο μυαλό. Τονίζει ότι το φλογερό παράδειγμα της νέας γενιάς της Ελλάδας του 1973 συμβολίζει και επικυρώνει την αδάμαστη θέληση, αλλά και το δικαίωμα κάθε ελεύθερου ανθρώπου να αγωνίζεται κατά της αυθαιρεσίας, κατά της καταπίεσης και για την κατοχύρωση των σταθερών αξιών της ελευθερίας και της δημοκρατίας. Για να επιβιώσουμε χρειαζόμαστε δύναμη, την οποία πρέπει να αντλήσουμε από τα ιερά ιδανικά που μας διδάσκει το Πολυτεχνείο.>>

(Εύρος Χ. Αντωνιάδης- Φιλελεύθερος 2009)

Φιλικά,

Αλέξανδρος

Translation

[= Dear Fellow students,

To the Technical university, to the revolt of students, the youth and entire the Greek population during the Junta tyranny, in November 1973. The event at the technical university was the defining event of a seven year old fight against Junta and one from the leading moments of the fights of population and youth.

“This is the Technical University.... This is the Technical University”. The radio station of the free fighting students speaks to you, the free fighting Greeks...” While reading and studying the history from the beginning of 1973 as the popular indignation was expressed with raising forms of fights against the American driven Junta.

The above mentioned indignation climaxed with the occupation of the Technical University on the 15th of November in 1973 from 5.000 students, while the population near the Technical university streets, shouts against America and against Junta “to leave the dictatorship”, “Bread, Education, Freedom”. On Friday 16th of November the revolt of students spreads to all people and the first morning hours of Saturday of 17 November, the tanks intervene. A bit later, the tank threw the gate of the Technical University causing the death of all demonstrators who did not make it to move on time; also the soldiers undertook the job to empty the Technical University from the demonstrators, while the police officers struck cruelly and arrested anyone found on their way.

Ioannides’ coup d’état had already begun, as well as the fall of dictatorship with the catalysis of democracy in Cyprus, as a price, with the treasonous coup d’état that opened the gates of Cyprus to the violence of Attila who for 36 years continues the illegal occupation of Cypriot territory.

For us the Technical University was and will always be a live call for democracy and freedom, it will live in each free mind. It stresses that the fervid example of the new generation of Greece 1973, symbolizes and ratifies the free will, but also the right of each free person to fight against the arbitrariness, against the oppression and for the consolidation of the constant values of freedom and democracy. In order to survive we needed power, which we should draw from the important ideals that the Technical University teaches us.

(Evros H. Antoniadis- Fileleftheros 2009)

Regards,

Alexandros]

Appendix D13

Subject: **Αντικατοχική Εκδήλωση 15ης Νοεμβρίου ενάντια στην ανακήρυξη του ψευδοκράτους**

From: HEI Cypriot Society

Sent: Friday, November 13, 2009 1:13:22 PM

Αγαπητοί Συμφοιτητές και Συμφοιτήτριες,

Η Εθνική Φοιτητική Ένωση Κυπρίων Ηνωμένου Βασιλείου (Ε.Φ.Ε.Κ. Η.Β) διοργανώνει φέτος, όπως και κάθε χρόνο αντικατοχική εκδήλωση ενάντια στην ανακήρυξη του ψευδοκράτους την Κυριακή 15 Νοεμβρίου στις 14:00. Η εκδήλωση αυτή θα περιλαμβάνει πορεία των φοιτητών από το Victoria Train Station μέχρι την Τουρκική Πρεσβεία (Belgrave Square), όπου και θα είναι ο χώρος της κύριας εκδήλωσης.

Το HEI Cypriot Society καλεί τα μέλη του να δώσουν το παρόν τους στην αντικατοχική αυτή εκδήλωση στηρίζοντας και συμμετέχοντας στο οργανωμένο φοιτητικό σύνολο. Ως νέοι φοιτητές, οφείλουμε να εκφράσουμε δυναμικά και καθολικά την έντονη δυσαρέσκεια μας ενάντια στην άδικη και παράνομη, μονομερή αυτοανακήρυξη του ψευδοκράτους ως «Τουρκική Δημοκρατία της Βόρειας Κύπρου» στις 15 Νοεμβρίου 1983, αλλά και να διαμαρτυρηθούμε για την αδικία η οποία συνεχίζει να υφίσταται ο κυπριακός Ελληνισμός εδώ και 35 χρόνια, μετά την τουρκική εισβολή του 1974.

Τα ενδιαφερόμενα μέλη θα συγκεντρωθούν έξω από το Victoria Station στις 14:00, για να ενωθούν ακολούθως με τους υπόλοιπους διαδηλωτές. Καλούνται οι παρεβρισκομένοι να ακολουθούν τις οδηγίες των οργανωτών και της Αστυνομίας έτσι ώστε η εκδήλωση να διατηρήσει τον ειρηνικό της χαρακτήρα, όπως άλλωστε γίνεται και κάθε χρόνο.

Φιλικά,

HEI CYSOC Committee

Translation

[= Dear Fellow students,

The Cypriot national Student Union of United Kingdom, organizes this year, as each year a demonstration event against the nomination of the pseudo-nation TRNC, on Sunday of 15 November at 14:00. This event involves students marching from Victoria Train Station up to the Turkish Embassy (Belgrave Square), where it will also be the location of the main event.

The HEI Cypriot Society invites its members to attend the demonstration against TRNC event in order to support and participate in this organized student effort. As young students, we ought to strongly and wholly express our strong disapproval against the unjust and illegal, one-sided self-declaration of the pseudo-state as “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” on the 15th of November 1983, but also to protest against the injustice incurred upon the Cypriot Hellenism for 35 years now, after the 1974 Turkish invasion.

Members interested should be assembled outside Victoria Station at 14:00, in order to join with the rest of the demonstrators. They are advised to follow the directives of the organizers and the Police, so the event maintains the peaceful character that each year has.

Regards,

HEICYSOC Committee]

Appendix D14

Document sent by Eugene to Committee members via e-mail when applying for the Position of Fresher's Director during the March 2010 elections. The position for which she applied was for the 2010/2011 academic year.

From: Eugene
To "heicysoc@gmail.com" <heicysoc@gmail.com>
Date: Sun, Mar 14, 2010 at 11:39 PM
Subject: Fresher's director application for Cypriot Society

To whom it may concern,

My name is Eugenie and I am a second year law student at HEI. I am applying for the position of Fresher's Director since I am Cypriot and therefore have a good connection with anyone coming from Cyprus. Moreover, since I lived in London for the first ten years of my life I am also able to connect with any English Cypriots or people from other nationalities. My personality is such that I am aptly able to talk to new people and will be able to become a friendly face to any fresher's who may find coming to university, especially one in another country, a trifle intimidating. My targets are to bring more fresher's and effectively more members into the society and to create a friendly atmosphere where fresher's will know that they will always have somewhere to turn to if things become hard to handle. Moreover due to my participation in countless societies at school, as well as being Publicity leader with the charity READ international has further increased my organisational and communication abilities where I feel as though I could be an asset to the Cypriot Society.

Kind Regards,

Eugenie

Appendix D15

E-mail sent by the Society's Chair (Alexandros) to committee members.

Date: Tue, 6 Oct 2009 21:49:31 +0100

Subject: News Update

14. Kalispera!
15. 2. Epistrefo apo ena meeting pou itan san tin mikri annoula.. elipan ta misa ta meli!
16. Lipon:
17. 1) Mboroun ta meloi mas na graftoun pleon sto society online sto www.fixtureslive.com. I
18. istoselida p ine protovoulia tou HEISU mas dini ke tin dinatotita emas san admin na
19. elenhoume pioi en grammenoi alla prepi na graftite gia na sas kamw admin. Fetos prepi na
20. pollinoume ta meloi mas gia na mboroume na imaste pio dinatoi otan organonoume events
21. me alla panepistimia (but don't let it worry you too much epidi otan kamoume events ke
22. exoume diaforetikes times gia members ke non members en na graftoun apo monoi tous,
23. apla remind them to join-en na stali ke email)
24. 2) kamno sas attach ke to logo p esxediasse o Thanos. Elpizw na sas aresi ke i selida i opia
25. tha ine etimi entos tw nimerwn, swsta thano?
26. 3) Perimenoume pao to nikola na mas kami finalise ta teleutea details tou dinner ke na
27. ftiaxoume ta isitiria ke na arhisoume tin polisi. Adrianne otan exo ta details mboris na
28. sxediasis ena ticket? Chrissie, Nicholas P, Alexandros tha polisoume ta tickets.
29. 4) Sas grafo apo kato mia lista apo events p tha organonthoun to trimino touto:
30. 3 Novemberr- Musical: Chrissie and Andriane tou organise that
31. 3 November- Pithano *Party* se club: Nicholas, Michael ke John to arrange that
32. 18 November- Pithano Games night: Gyula and Chrissie to arrange that
33. 1 December- Pithano Xmas *Party*?: aste to panw mou
34. 6 December- Ice Skating: thanos and Gyula to book tickets
35. 5) Lipon, gia ta events touta miliste metaxi sas ke kinithite na vrite events/times/wres etc..
36. Mexri tin erxomeni Kyriaki 18 tou minos tha miliso me olous sas na dw ti ginete.. O logos
37. p exi musical tin idia mera me to party ine oti an den doulepsi to party tote tha kamoume
38. musical instead. An doulepsi to party tote tha valoume to musical ti mera tou games night
39. ke na figi to games night prosorina. To party tha milisw egw me LSE kai QM ke tha
40. rotisoun gia clubs ta agoria.
41. 6) Gia ice-skating ipame na to kamoume 6 dekemvriou p ine i giorti tw n nikolidwn gia na
42. tous filisoun oles oi kopeles ke epidi stis 9 p itan to original plan mallon tha exi match
43. Apoel- Chelsea. Thanos evrete tickets ke agoraste 25 me ton Gyula me tin karta tou p exi ta
44. lefta tou society. Nomizw 25 pouloume ta- en 13.50 ta tickets. An exi kapios diafonies na
45. mas to pi.. fisika pete mou prin ta agorasete:p
46. 7) Oso afora ta events, otan ginoun finalised na leme tou thanou ke tha mas stelni email on
47. behalf of everyone. The key is that everything runs in parallel and we don't wait until one
48. event finishes so we can arrange another.
49. 8) Trip. Exoume ena mikro provlima. Leme na pame 27-30 Martiou, molis klisi to
50. panepistimio dld ke o proorismos ine ite amsterdam ite Belgio me to eurostar pantote. I idea
51. ine oti mexri 20/11 tha mas exoun dws 100 liras deposit ke tha mboukaroume
52. xenodoxio ke tickets. Otan kamoume ke to xmas party tha xeroume meta posa tha
53. xorigisoume ke tha tous epistrespoume ta lefta. To provlima ine oti 29-30 ine megali
54. detuera ke megali triti p simeni oti ite tha figoun na pan kipro gia tin megali vdomada, ite tha
55. pan megali triti p enen toso tragiko. Esis ti lete?
56. 9) Avrio sta drinks en na exoume arketo kosmo! O Gyula me ton John ke tin Chrissie an
57. mbori tha pan apo tis 6.30-7 evrete metaxi sas na piyasete kanena megalo topo na tous
58. filoxenisoume⁴⁴.. enen ananki na kathomaste oloi alla na exoume perithorio na kinithoume
59. epidi ws tis 9 en na ine tinka me ta sports teams ke tous walkabouts!
60. 10) Epethimisa sas olous! See you tomorrow (exo mathima mexri tis 8 sto strand)
61. Filia,
62. Alexandros

⁴⁴ NOTE: Underlined → Use of 1st person plural.

Translation

- e) [= Good Evening!
- f) I return from a meeting that was just like little Annie...half the parts were missing!
- g) So
- h) Our members can now register to the Society online at www.fixtureslive.com. The
- i) Website, which is initiating of HEISU gives us the opportunity as administrators to
- j) Check who is registered, but you have to sign up and I will make you administrators
- k) This year we have to increase the number of our members so we can be stronger when
- l) organizing events with other universities ((but don't let it worry you too much because when
- m) we organize events we will have different prices for members and non-members and they
- n) will want to register) just remind them to join – an email will be send as well.
- o) 2) I attach the logo that Thanos designed. I hope you like it; the website will be ready within
- p) days right Thanos?
- q) 3) We are expecting Michael to finalize the final details of the dinner and make the tickets
- r) and start selling. Adrianne when I have the details could you design a ticket? Chrissie,
- s) Nicholas P., Alexandros we will all sell the tickets.
- t) 4) I produced a list below with events to be organized for this semester:
- u) 3 November- Musical: Chrissie and Andriane tou organise that
- v) 3 November- Possible Party sat a club: Nicholas, Michael John to arrange that
- w) 18 November- Possible Games night: Gyula and Chrissie to arrange that
- x) 1 December- Possible Xmas Party?: aste to panw mou
- y) 6 December- Ice Skating: thanos and Gyula to book tickets
- z) 5) So for these events talk with each other and proceed accordingly towards finding events/
 aa) times/ hours etc.. By next Friday, the 18th of the month, I'll be talking to all of you to see
 bb) what is happening. The reason there is a musical on the same day with the party is that in
 cc) case the party doesn't work out then we will arrange a musical. If the party works out we
 dd) will transfer the musical to the games night and temporarily remove the games night. About
 ee) the party I will talk with LSE and QM and the boys will ask about clubs. About ice-skating,
 ff) we talked about doing it on December the 6th when the Nicholas' nameday is, so all the girls
 gg) can kiss them and because on the 9th, when the original plan was, there will probably a
 hh) match between Apoel- Chelsea. Thanos, find tickets with Gyula and buy 25 with the
 ii) society's card. I think that we can easily sell 25 tickets– they are 13.50 each. If someone
 jj) disagrees they should of course tell us.. of course let me know before you buy them:p
 kk) 7) As far as the events are concerned, once they are finalized we will be telling thanos and
 ll) he will be sending an email for us on behalf of everyone. The key is that everything runs in
 mm) parallel and we don't wait until one event finishes so we can arrange another.
 nn) 8) Trip. We have a small problem. We are thinking of going on March 27-30, as soon as the
 oo) university breaks that is, and the destination is either amsterdam or Belgio, always with the
 pp) Eurostar. The plan is that by the 20/11 they give us 100 pounds deposit and we will book the
 qq) hotel and tickets. When we have the xmas party we will then know how much funding we
 rr) are giving and we will return their money. The problem is that the 29-30 is holy monday and
 ss) tuesday which means that either they will be going back to Cyprus for the holy week or that
 tt) they will be going on holy tuesday which is not so bad. What do you think?
 uu) 9) We will be having a lot of people at the drinks tomorrow! Gyula with John and Chrissie,
 vv) If she is available, go there from 6.30-7 and find a large space to reserve so
 ww) we⁴⁵ can welcome the members..there is no need for all of us to sit but we need some space
 xx) for us to move around because by 9 it will be packed with the sports teams and the
 yy) walkabouts!
- zz) 10) I missed you all! See you tomorrow (I have class till 8 at strand)
- aaa) Kisses,
- bbb) Alexandros

⁴⁵ NOTE: Underlined → Use of 1st person plural.

APPENDIX E

Appendix E1

Facebook thread between Valentina (researcher) and Alexandros (Chair). The two became Facebook friends soon after their first meeting in late October 2007.

1. Alexandros wrote

at 6:22pm on November 6th, 2007

Valentina Christodoulou is wishing she never came England this time to continue her studies!!!! Why is Valentina Christodoulou feeling this way?

2. Valentina wrote

at 11:54pm on November 6th, 2007

Well, Valentina Christodoulou is having major panic attacks...

PhD is quite of a process of independence...but at the same time a lonely process....u get to think a lot...u get what us Cypriots would call 'yparksiaka erwtimata'!

I am not suicidal yet...hahaha!

How r u anyway?

3. Alexandros wrote

at 12:39am on November 7th, 2007

hmm, yparksiaka erwtimata, those must be the worst part of the whole PhD process... but, it is a general experience of the independence process! Perhaps you need some encouragement! Valentina prohora, se theli oli xwra!

I am well health wise, but trying to get through 10x 20page articles= 200 pages of reading in one night so I can get back on schedule! I don't remember everything I read, but at least I can say that I have read everthing! I have an exam on Friday you see, and so I need to be prepared... well as much as is possible!

4. Valentina wrote

at 3:11am on November 7th, 2007

Dear God...and thought my situation was bad! 200 in one night...r u mad?

Encouragement ha?

You would have done better by saying....valentina proxwra, min myksoklaiesai.....skase kai kolympa!!!!

Oh well, at least i can joke about it all!Alexandre mou honestly...the best of luck with ur exam! U will do great...if one can play backgammon...and beat the Val-Master then...u know :)

We will talk again anyway

Take it easy Doc!!

5. Alexandros wrote

at 1:45pm on November 7th, 2007

lol! thank you very much for your wishes! For the record, i got through all the reading...! Speak to you later "Val-Master"

6. Valentina wrote
at 5:21pm on November 11th, 2007
what's wrong Mr.President?
Losing faith in you, are we?
Well.....welcome to the club then!!!

7. Alexandros wrote
at 9:30pm on November 11th, 2007
no losing faith:p I elpida petheni teleutea p lene!!

8. Valentina wrote
at 6:47pm on November 19th, 2007
Re alexandri re arfe mou...ma pou exathikes...ate re savva....tha arkepsw na koutoullw
toixous!Exw tosa polla na diavasw kai sygkentrwsi kai xronos
miden!AAAAAaaaaaaa....an den mou aresei to Lion King, tha se
derw!!!!toulaxiston tha exw kai mia dikaiologia gia na derw kapoion...na mou fygei to
stress!!! :))))

9. Valentina wrote
at 4:42pm on December 19th, 2007
emeines monos sou poullaki mou?
Piase mana mou ena lsat minute ticket....kai ela!

10. Alexandros wrote
at 4:57pm on December 19th, 2007
ma enomisa oti simera tha ediaazes taha!!! thoro kamnis polli doulia, jino to louroui
tou shillou ekatastrepse se pantws!

11. Valentina wrote
at 3:46pm on March 4th, 2008
latremene K. Xatji....where on earth r u?
Akoma lion tha prepei na plerwnw eisitirio gia na se dw! Teleiwne kanonise
tipote!aaaa to savvato enna pame sou Ash enne?

12. Alexandros wrote
at 7:11pm on March 4th, 2008
hehe, e oi je etsi re!!! pianoume se tilefono gia fai ke esi exis to klisto!!!:p na pame
ene? en na ntithoume?

13. Valentina wrote
at 1:08am on March 5th, 2008
enna fyrtw.....mallon kata 95% yeah!Ti ena ntytheis?En exw costume re Alexandri re
arfe mou!

14. Alexandros wrote
at 2:06am on March 5th, 2008
hehe, oreas... oi, en xero ti en na ntitho!! esi? skeftome na paw san ton eauto m!!! hehe

15. Valentina wrote
at 2:40am on March 7th, 2008
Akoma en na piaeis tel...teraaas!!!!

16. Valentina wrote
at 2:07am on March 28th, 2008
Agapimene.....mallon en to PC sou pou en fortwnei.....to profile mou den exei lathos
re alexandrouin.... :))) filakia

17. Alexandros wrote
at 5:29pm on March 28th, 2008
ma etsi en na exoume? ti en touta ta sistimata p esikoses? na sou stelno txt ke na m
apantas apo to facebook!!! liin antropi!

18. Valentina wrote
at 6:55pm on March 28th, 2008
ela re alexandrouin mou...men mou thymwneis....!!!!
eisai gia poto aurio?enna paw se ena baraki me tin kolliti mou kai kati allous.....
Ateeee egw pou se agapw!!!

19. Alexandros wrote
at 4:32pm on March 29th, 2008
ne, ime sigouros, epistepsa se!! en na paw se ena baraki sitn old street, elate na pame
eki.. legete favela chic!!

20. Valentina wrote
at 6:55pm on September 10th, 2008
hello alexandre mou...pws pernas me parents?
Kserw to toi kata vathos...en emena pou irtes na ypodekteis tin pempti..... :) Ate na
kanonisoume synantisi!have fun

21. Alexandros wrote
at 8:57pm on September 10th, 2008
e mono i tapela me to onoma sou m elipe alla oute ke tote me katalaves!! eprepe na
sou fonakso gia na me dis! Oi gonis efian ke twra egkatastathike sta stamford street!
na kanonisoume kati sintoma!

22. Valentina wrote
at 4:27pm on September 11th, 2008
ate re.....apenanti apo waterloo???? Oh how nice.....kai elaloun...ma pou tha pinw ton
kafe mou otan teleiwnw to mathima? Pou????

23. Alexandros wrote
at 5:31pm on September 11th, 2008
thoro se ekanonises ta idi horis na me rotisis!! na kopiazis na pinis ton kafe sou opote
thelis en exi provlima! :)

Translation

1. Alexandros wrote

at 6:22pm on November 6th, 2007

Valentina Christodoulou is wishing she never came England this time to continue her studies!!!! Why is Valentina Christodoulou feeling this way?

2. *Valentina* wrote

at 11:54pm on November 6th, 2007

Well, Valentina Christodoulou is having major panic attacks...

PhD is quite of a process of independence...but at the same time a lonely process....u get to think a lot...u get what us Cypriots would call 'existential questions'!

I am not suicidal yet...hahaha!

How r u anyway?

3. Alexandros wrote

at 12:39am on November 7th, 2007

hmm, existential questions, those must be the worst part of the whole PhD process... but, it is a general experience of the independence process! Perhaps you need some encouragement! Valentina don't stop, keep going!

I am well health wise, but trying to get through 10x 20page articles= 200 pages of reading in one night so I can get back on schedule! I don't remember everything I read, but at least I can say that I have read everything! I have an exam on Friday you see, and so I need to be prepared... well as much as is possible!

4. *Valentina* wrote

at 3:11am on November 7th, 2007

Dear God...and thought my situation was bad! 200 in one night...r u mad?

Encouragement ha?

You would have done better by saying....valentina don't stop, don't be a cry-baby.....Shut up and get on with it!!!!

Oh well, at least i can joke about it all!Alexandre honestly...the best of luck with ur exam! U will do great...if one can play backgammon...and beat the Val-Master then...u know :)

We will talk again anyway

Take it easy Doc!!

5. Alexandros wrote

at 1:45pm on November 7th, 2007

lol! thank you very much for your wishes! For the record, i got through all the reading....! Speak to you later "Val-Master"

6. *Valentina* wrote

at 5:21pm on November 11th, 2007

what's wrong Mr.President?

Losing faith in you, are we?

Well.....welcome to the club then!!!

7. Alexandros wrote

at 9:30pm on November 11th, 2007

no losing faith:p Hope is the last one to die, as they say!!

8. Valentina wrote

at 6:47pm on November 19th, 2007

Alexandre, my brother...where have you been...Come on Alexandre....I am about to start banging my head on the wall! I have so much studying to do but my concentration level as well as the time that I have available is zero!AAAAAaaaaaaa....If I don't like the Lion King, I'll slap you!!!! At least I'll have an excuse to slap somebody...you know, so as to minimise my stress levels!!! :))))

9. Valentina wrote

at 4:42pm on December 19th, 2007

*Awww are you all alone my dear?
Go get a last minute ticket....and come!*

10. Alexandros wrote

at 4:57pm on December 19th, 2007

But I thought you'd be studying today!!! I see you are being very productive, I seriously think that the dog leash we were talking about has officially ruined you!

11. Valentina wrote

at 3:46pm on March 4th, 2008

*My dearest mr Had....where on earth r u?
A bit longer and I'll have to pay an entrance fee in order to see you! Come on arrange something!aaaa are we going to Ash's on Saturday?*

12. Alexandros wrote

at 7:11pm on March 4th, 2008

hehe, stop exaggerating!!! We've been calling you to go out for dinner and your phone was switched off!!!:p we should go right? Are we dressing up?

13. Valentina wrote

at 1:08am on March 5th, 2008

I'm about to faint....probably 95% yeah!What are you dressing up as? I don't have a costume costume Alexndre, my bro!

14. Alexandros wrote

at 2:06am on March 5th, 2008

*hehe, nice... no, I don't have clue!! you? Been thinking of dressing up as myself!!!
hehe*

15. Valentina wrote

at 2:40am on March 7th, 2008

You still haven't called...You little monsteeer!!!!

16. Valentina wrote

at 2:07am on March 28th, 2008

My dearest.....it is probably your PC that won't load my profile.....my profile is perfect alexandrouin.... :)))) kisses

17. Alexandros wrote

at 5:29pm on March 28th, 2008

Is this how it goes? What sort of behaviour is this? I'm sending you a text message and you reply on facebook!!! Shame on you!

18. Valentina wrote

at 6:55pm on March 28th, 2008

Come on Alexandre...Don't be mad at me....!!!!

Are you up for a drink tomorrow? I'm taking you to this bar with my best friend and some others.....

Come oooooon you know I love you!!!

19. Alexandros wrote

at 4:32pm on March 29th, 2008

Yeah, right, I'm sure!! I'm going to this bar in old street, we should all go there.. it's called favela chic!!

20. Valentina wrote

at 6:55pm on September 10th, 2008

hello alexandre...how's spending quality time with your parents going?

I know that really it is me whom you came to pick up on Thursday :) We should arrange a get together!have fun

21. Alexandros wrote

at 8:57pm on September 10th, 2008

Truth be told, I was only missing one of those signs with your name on it, but even then you'd still wouldn't recognise me!! I had to shout out for you to see me! My parents have gone and I have officially moved in at Stamford Street Apartments! We should arrange something soon!

22. Valentina wrote

at 4:27pm on September 11th, 2008

Really?.....Across waterloo????? Oh how nice.....And I was wondering...Where will I be having coffee when I'll be done from classes? Eh ? Where?????

23. Alexandros wrote

at 5:31pm on September 11th, 2008

I see you've planned everything, without even consulting me!! You are welcome to come and have coffee whenever, no problem at all! :)

Appendix E2

The thread below shows an exchange of messages in Facebook's Wall. The participants are Alexandros, who is the Chair of the Society and Adrianne who became the Society's Public Relations Officer for 2008/09. The two were introduced during the Pre-departure meeting in 2007 and they became 'Facebook friends' after that period.

1. Adrianne wrote
at 2:58am on November 21st, 2007
ma akoma na pas spiti k e3ekinises douleia na enimewneis to society? bravo pistos sto kathikon!!
2. Alexandros wrote
at 3:03am on November 21st, 2007
e ma ides?:p mono p ixe provlima to hotmail ke prepi na epiaes to idio email 10 fores!! eftases spiti kala?
3. Alexandros wrote
at 3:11am on November 21st, 2007
nai eftsasa ok! thanx for asking.. enta3ei 2 fores to epiasa :p kalinixta sou :)
4. Alexandros wrote
at 3:19am on November 21st, 2007
kanena provlima, ixa tin enoia epidi en epiene apefthias to underground! kalinihta xx
5. Adrianne wrote
at 2:39am on February 19th, 2008
Happy Birthdayyy even if im a bit late :P oti epithymeis na to kataktiseis! Xxxxxx
6. Alexandros wrote
at 3:09pm on February 19th, 2008
hehe, euxaristw Andria m!:))
7. Adrianne wrote
at 12:11am on January 17th, 2009
savvas had? u had what?
8. Alexandros wrote
at 12:16am on January 17th, 2009
hehe... lalis na to sinexiso ene? savvas had the time of his life ena prama?! to surprise... apehto btw:p
9. Adrianne wrote
at 12:21am on January 17th, 2009
savvas had an imaginary friend when he was younger and after his loss he has been unable to make any real ones? :P

10. Alexandros wrote
at 7:21pm on January 17th, 2009
vlepo en kollitiki i asthenia tou giangou:p aspoume kati etsi!

11. Adrianne wrote
at 2:01am on January 25th, 2009
esi ise like the honey?? taxa? glykos? :P ca va alexandre?

12. Alexandros wrote
at 6:00pm on January 25th, 2009
oui, ca va, et toi, ca va?:p

13. Adrianne
February 20 at 6:09 pm
parakalw na stamatiséis na ekfrazéis politikés apopseis epeidi eisai proedros tou
societý k en na nomisoun polloi oti tis apopseis sou tis simmerizontai ola ta meli!!!

14. Alexandros
March 2, 2009 at 1:32 am
en theloume monopoli! ahriasta exoda! exoume hartia ke tavli! KANI!

15. Alexandros
August 9, 2009 at 4:13am
giati en kimase?!

Comment:
Adrianne
August 9, 2009 at 11:53am
esi giati en kimase? :P

16. Comment on status update:
Adrianne
esastiken re alexandre telika :P
13 January 2010 at 21:18

Alexandros
14 January 2010 at 01:11
hehe eutuxos!

Translation

1. Adrianne wrote at 2:58am on November 21st, 2007
[= You haven't arrived home yet and you begun work on updating the society? Bravo true to the task!!

2. Alexandros wrote at 3:03am on November 21st, 2007
see?:p it's only that hotmail had a problem and you msut have gotten the same email about 10 times!! Did you get home safe?

3. Adrianne wrote at 3:11am on November 21st, 2007
Yes I arrived ok! thanks for asking.. okay I only got it twice:p goodnight :)

4. Alexandros wrote at 3:19am on November 21st, 2007
*No problem, I was concerned because the tube was not going there directly!
Goodnightxx*

5. Adrianne wrote at 2:39am on February 19th, 2008
*Happy Birthdayyy even if im a bit late :P whatever you desire, that you achieve
xxxxx*

6. Alexandros wrote at 3:09pm on February 19th, 2008
hehe, thank you Adrianne!:)

7. Adrianne wrote at 12:11am on January 17th, 2009
alexandros had? u had what?

8. Alexandros wrote at 12:16am on January 17th, 2009
*hehe... you think I should complete the sentence? alexandros had the time of his life somehow?! the surprise...
was great btw:p*

9. Adrianne wrote at 12:21am on January 17th, 2009
alexandros had an imaginary friend when he was younger and after his loss he has been unable to make any real ones? :P

10. Alexandros wrote at 7:21pm on January 17th, 2009
As I see giangou's disease is contagious:p lets suppose its something like that!

11. Adrianne wrote at 2:01am on January 25th, 2009
Are you like the honey?? supposedly? sweet? :P ca va alexandre?

12. Alexandros wrote at 6:00pm on January 25th, 2009
oui, ca va, et toi, ca va?:p

13. Adrianne February 20 at 6:09 pm
I request that you stop expressing political beleiefs because you are the society's Chair and a lot of people will think that your beliefs are shared by all the members!!!

14. Alexandros March 2, 2009 at 1:32 am
*We don't want monopoli! Unnecessary expenses!
We have cards and backgammon!THAT'S ENOUGH!]*

15. Alexandros, August 9, 2009 at 4:13am
Why aren't you sleeping?!

Comment:

Adrianne, August 9, 2009 at 11:53am
Why are you not sleeping? :P

16. Comment on status update:

Adrianne, 13 January 2010 at 21:18
Alexandros, it is fixed afterall:P

Alexandros

14 January 2010 at 01:11

Hehe thank god!

Appendix E3

The thread below shows an exchange of messages in Facebook's Wall between Eliza who was the Society's Fresher's Director for 2007/08 and Treasurer in 2008/09 and Andrianne who became the Society's Public Relations Officer for 2008/09 and Vice-President in 2009/10. The two were introduced at the beginning of the 2007/08 academic year but became close towards the very end of the year. They became 'Facebook friends' during the initial stages of the 2007/08 academic year.

WALL THREAD

1. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 1:16pm on November 30th, 2007
happy nameday!!! Xxxxx

2. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote
at 2:13am on December 2nd, 2007
thaaanx :)

3. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 7:08pm on March 26th, 2008
Adrianneeee mou xronia sou polla ke oti epithimeis na ginei pragmatikotita!!
filia polla!!!

4. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 1:29pm on April 18th, 2008
mana mou andria mou i understand u have every rason hate me :PP
pos en i kiprs mas??
ate ela pisooo ke epethimisamen seee :P
xxxxxxx

5. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote
at 1:37pm on April 18th, 2008
kai gia ton kosmo pou miseis den ime allllooooooosssssss..... eperasete wraia ap'oti fainetai
:) i kipros mia xara, esinithisa tin k ate na ertw pisw twra! alla oso na pw k egw epethymisa
sas! ;) xxxxxx pws paei to diavasma? kratame gera?

6. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 4:56pm on April 18th, 2008
hehehe!! to diavasma ase!! ine evesthito thema to opion den sizitame katholou ke pote ;P lol!
na ipologisw oti esena prohorei to diavasma kipro ? :P
tha ta pume apo konta soon thelo na elpizo!

7. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote
at 5:05pm on April 18th, 2008
yep pretty soon! kala kati ekamame alla as min to thi3oume oute k gia mena :P
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

8. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 1:06pm on July 29th, 2008
esighistika!!! ma pu ise??? en ise kipro??? :S

20. Eliza wrote
at 01:32 on 06 March
oi oi tuton en tha xalaseiiii!!
ipoxomeeeeeeeee en na vrume meraaaaaa :)))))) xxxx

Comment on Status----- (Adrianne is tired of plans involving fun/trips etc gettting cancelled)

21. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote
at 09:37 on 06 March 2009
eteliwsen egw ime kakaouskia/kaktos se oti kanonizw :P teleftaia wra na mou ta lete na men
ta kamnw jinx!

22. Eliza
March 24 at 6:18pm
param param paraaaaaam ;)

23. Andrianne:
March 25, 2009 at 12:08pm
Kalimeraa :) nomizw e3ipnisa meraklwmeni.can u actually do that? :P

24. Eliza:
March 25, 2009 at 1:50pm
kalimera!
fisika ke mporeis eidika meta to ehtesino pu mas efkike se merakloma by the end(!?!?)
hehe den thelw tetious fiiiilous den thelo tetious fiiiilous pou na me kanoune pikra na
pligothoooooooo OPA

25. Eliza:
March 25, 2009 at 1:57pm
p.s raaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaakkkkkki

26. Adrianne
March 25, 2009 at 3:16pm
raki indeed! niwthw sanna ipia ton vosporo... :S

27. Eliza:
March 25, 2009 at 3:19pm
ρε θέλω να πω όλο το Βόσπορο! αφου αλλάζουνε εντός μου τα συνορα του κόσμου!! ;)
xxxxxx

28. Adrianne
March 25, 2009 at 3:19pm
tha anavw me tsigara tha svinw me pota ;)

29. Eliza:
March 26, 2009 at 1:59pm
FILEEE MOU
XRONIA SOU POLLA POLLA KE APO EDW!!! ;)
raaaaaki saaaaaaki power!!
xx

30. Adrianne:
April 11 2009at 8:14pm
file eshei pou tin kiriaki pou ekinises gia to astro tis anapolis... eftases??? or akoma??? let me
know ;) xx

31. Adrianne

May 14, 2009 at 7:32pm

fileee u see eurovision tonight?

32. Adrianne

May 17 2009 at 4:26am

en 23 xronwn telika :P so ennen mwro! kai monos t egrapse to song! so nai i would
xxxxxx

33. Eliza:

May 18 2009 at 12:40pm

shouldnt you be studying ?!?!

34. Adrianne:

May 18 2009 at 1:27pm

indeed... alla ate ti na kameis.. en tou theou tounta pramata!

35. Eliza > Adrianne

16 October 2009 at 12:26

breathless puppy says goodmorning :D

36. Eliza > Adrianne

23 November 2009 at 03:36

actually i enjoyed it that much that i wanted to say it here too!

ευχαριστώ! Xxxxxx

37. Andrienne > Eliza

23 November 2009 at 22:11

aista gallika twra. THELW ATHINA MPOUZOUKIA!

Comments:

Anastasia K.

25 November 2009 at 15:28

hahahahahaha tsie gwwww piwrwnete mou eisitirio na rtw mazi sas? kamete enan
erano ta evloimena tosoi foitites tsimesa :P

Andrienne

25 November 2009 at 22:32

loooll :P na erteis! 3ekina na valleis stin panta ws ton genari/fevrari... an
emporousame na kamname etsi charity en na to kamname j gia mas LOL

38. Eliza > Adrianne

23 November 2009 at 23:18

nai... na ta afiso... malista... telospanton... EKLEISEN I ATHINA AFOU!! Men mu anisiheis
everything is on schedule!! Ase pu polliniskun ta prmt pu thelo na kamume ke en xerw poses
meres na kleisume!! Esi na ta deis na valeis adeies!!!

Αθήνα και ΠΑΛΙ Αθήνα....

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

39. Eliza > Adrianne

30 November 2009 at 11:19 breathless puppy says:

1. Wlecome back

2. NA ZISEIIIIIS XXXXXXXXX

:D

Comment:

Adrianne

30 November 2009 at 12:25

thaaanx puppy mou :) popse erxomai pisw ! xxxx hope na ise kalaaaa

40. Eliza > Adrianne

eides tooooo? eftihws en tin eskotoseeee :P

Comment:

Adrianne

03 March at 16:54

i know!!! efasin j makaronada! en mporw en polla weird i fasi... taxa? paw na kopsw tin poullou m j erkoumai?

Eliza

03 March 2010 at 16:57

i know!!! e l e o s! fisika didnt expect nothing less! en xristoforos!

41. Eliza > Adrianne: xwris ntropiiiiiiiiiii

Comment:

Adrianne

15 April 2010 at 16:16

huh??

Eliza

16 April 2010 at 12:39

oi na mu laleis huh!! eperimena tis 'genejes' na etoimastun gia lib ke etragudusa su to hwris ntropi! Episis esiniditopiisa oti exehasa telia to sample sale tu ted baker! EN ME ETHIMISES! Episis ti egine pale (vlepe to status su) ?!
:XX

Adrianne

16 April 2010 at 13:48

file men thymwseis alla poio en to xwris ntropi? :P efxaristw pou mou etragoudas, na'sai kala... en se ethymisa sowwwy enomiza enna isoun sovari foititria pou diavazei j en tha evouras ta sample sales pou pisw! :P en egine tpt oso afora to status apla ime se fasi pou eknevrizomai efkola PALE xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Eliza

16 April 2010 at 20:50

eeee :S sinelthe en gia to xwris ntropi ton pix lax pu su leooo ipotithete areskei su!!
hmmm kalan PALE :P
p r o c r a s t i n a t i n g xxxxx

Translation

*1. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 1:16pm on November 30th, 2007
happy nameday!!! Xxxxx*

*2. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote
at 2:13am on December 2nd, 2007
thaaanx :)*

*3. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 7:08pm on March 26th, 2008
Adrianneeee happy birthday and may all your dreams come true!!
many kisses!!*

*4. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 1:29pm on April 18th, 2008
Awwww honey i understand u have every rason to hate me :PP
how's our cyprus??
come on get back here and we have missed youuuu :P
xxxxxx*

*5. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote
at 1:37pm on April 18th, 2008
'And for those that you hate, I am no differeeeent'..... from what I can see you had loads of
fun :) Cyprus is fine, now that I've gotten used to it I have to come back! But I have missed
you too! ;) xxxxxx how's your studying going? Holding on?*

*6. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 4:56pm on April 18th, 2008
hehehe!! No comment on studying!! It's a very sensitive topic that we don't (ever) talk about
;P lol!
should I assume that you are getting on with yours in Cyprus ? :P
I'd like to believe we'll have a chat about everything soon!*

*7. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote
at 5:05pm on April 18th, 2008
yep pretty soon! Well yes we did a little bit of work but let's not talk about it either:P
xxxxxxxxxxxxxx*

*8. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 1:06pm on July 29th, 2008
I'm confused!!! Where are you??? Aren't you in Cyprus??? :S*

*9. Adrianne (HEI University London) wrote
at 2:08am on August 26th, 2008
Happy Birrthhdddaay my Eliza :) May you live a hundred years!!!! hope you have a lovely
day and may all your dreams come true xxx*

*10. Eliza (HEI University London) wrote
at 11:25am on August 28th, 2008*

Its final! Im just bad luck in whatever it is that i may try to organize :P You should wait till the last minute before you tell me your plans to avoid jinxing them!

22. Eliza

March 24 at 6:18pm

param param paraaaaaam ;)

23. Adrienne:

March 25, 2009 at 12:08pm

Good morning :) I think I have woken up light headed and in the mood.can u actually do that? :P

24. Eliza:

March 25, 2009 at 1:50pm

Good morning!

*Of course you can especially after last night that we got in the mood by the end(!?!?!)
hehe 'I do not want this sort of friends I do not want this sort of friends that they will eventually hurt meeeeeee' OPA*

25. Eliza:

March 25, 2009 at 1:57pm

p.s raaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaakkkkkki

26. Adrienne

March 25, 2009 at 3:16pm

raki indeed! I feel as if I drunk the whole of Bosphorus... :S

27. Eliza:

March 25, 2009 at 3:19pm

'I want to drink the whole of Bosphorus! Just because I feel inside as if world borders are changing!!' ;) xxxxxx

28. Adrienne

March 25, 2009 at 3:19pm

'I'll light up with cigarettes and go off with drinks' ;)

29. Eliza:

March 26, 2009 at 1:59pm

MY FRIEEEND

HAPPY BIRTHDAY FROM HERE TOO!!! ;)

raaaaaki saaaaaaki power!!

xx

30. Adrienne:

April 11 2009 at 8:14pm

My friend! It's been since Sunday that you have left for the Eastern star... are you there???

Or not yet??? let me know ;) xx

31. Adrienne

May 14, 2009 at 7:32pm

fileee u see eurovision tonight?

32. Adrienne

May 17 2009 at 4:26am

*he is 23 :P so he is not a baby! And he has written the song by himself! so yes i would
xxxxxx*

33. Eliza:

*May 18 2009 at 12:40pm
shouldnt you be studying !?!*

34. Adrienne:

*May 18 2009 at 1:27pm
indeed... but what to do.. things like this, you just leave them in God's hand!*

35. Eliza › Adrienne

*16 October 2009 at 12:26
breathless puppy says goodmorning :D*

36. Eliza › Adrienne

*23 November 2009 at 03:36
actually i enjoyed it that much that i wanted to say it here too!
thank you! Xxxxx*

37. Adrienne › Eliza

*23 November 2009 at 22:11
Cut it out with the French this ain't the time. I WANT ATHENS AND BOUZOUKIA!*

Comments:

Anastasia K.

25 November 2009 at 15:28

*Hahahahahaha me toooooo will you pay for my ticket to come along ? Start fund
raising! You are just too many so i think ill be able to get a ticket :P*

Adrienne

25 November 2009 at 22:32

*loooll :P you should come! Start saving money for January/February ... If we could
fund raise that easily we would do it for us too LOL*

38. Eliza › Adrienne

23 November 2009 at 23:18

*okay... i will cut it out with the french... fine... anyway... BUT ATHENS IS BOOKED!! Dont
you worry everything is on schedule!! Lets not even mention the fact that there's just too
many things that I want us to do and I am not sure how many days we should book for !! You
should plan ahead for the days you are taking off!!*

Athens ALWAYS Athens....

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

39. Eliza › Adrienne

30 November 2009 at 11:19

breathless puppy says:

1. Wlecome back

2. HAPPY NAMEDAYYYYYYYYYXXXXXXXXXX

:D

Comment:

Adrienne

30 November 2009 at 12:25

Thaaanx my puppy:) Im coming back tonight ! xxxx hope you are well

40. Eliza > Adrienne

03 March 2010 at 14:54

Did you watch it?? Thank God he hasn't killed her :P

Comment:

Adrienne

03 March at 16:54

i know!!! They've had pasta too! Can't take it they've had pasta too! very weird moment... errrr? I'll disappear for a while to go and cut my genitals?

Eliza

03 March 2010 at 16:57

i know!!! For heaven's sake! Of course I didn't expect anything less! It's Christophoros!

41. Eliza > Adrienne: with no shaaaaaaame

Comment:

Adrienne

15 April 2010 at 16:16

huh??

Eliza

16 April 2010 at 12:39

*Don't you huh me!! I was waiting for the 'ladies' to get ready for the lib and I was singing to you 'with no shame'! Also I have just realised that I have completely forgot of Ted Baker's sample sale! YOU' VE FAILED TO REMIND ME! Also, what happened this time (referring to your status) ?!
:XX*

Adrienne > Eliza

16 April 2010 at 13:48

My friend please don't be angry at me but which song is it? :P Thank you for singing to me, be safe... I forgot sowwwy I thought you'd be a serious student who studies all day and does not attend all sample sales! :P nothing is up as far as my status is concerned it's just that its one of those time periods AGAIN that I get easily get annoyed xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Eliza > Adrienne

16 April 2010 at 20:50

*eeeer :S get a grip of it I've been singing 'with no shame' by pix lax for you since you supposedly like it !! hmmm ok AGAIN :P
p r o c r a s t i n a t i n g xxxx*

Appendix E4

The thread below is an exchange of messages between members of the Society. The message exchange appeared in Facebook's Inbox message section and was not public on Facebook Wall. Solomis, Eliza, Margarita and Alexandros are old-timers, Valentina is a relatively new member, while Stephanos, Andreas and Giannis are individuals external to the Society. They all met through Society-related events.

INBOX MESSAGE

Subject: london i am coming!!

Between Giannis, Alexandros, Vassia, Solomis, Melis, Eliza, Stephanos, Andreas, Margarita, Valentina and Nataly

- **1. Nataly, October 17 at 10:31pm**
- *guys mu lipon erxome londino me ton gianno avrio kai tha mino os tin pempti*
- *to proi! an kai thelo na sas do olous en xero oute ego to programma mu..alla*
- *eskeftika na me enimeroseite kai esis pote ena mporeite na pame gia kanena*
- *dinner i poto i kati oloi mazi!akouo idees!nikoletta mu ennoite tha pis kai tis*
- *ioannas! see u soon!!xxxxx*

- **2. Andreas, October 17 at 10:57pm**
- *exo mia polla kali idea.. na ertete na akousete ton DJ ash sto party tou imperial*
- *tin triti ... tssssssssssssssssssss*

- **3. Giannis, October 17 at 11:01pm**
- *se etsi paliopanepistimia en paw egw :P*

- **4. Nataly, October 17 at 11:06pm**
- *dld telika re nikoletta mono i diki sou apantisi itan tis prokopis (vale tin na tin*
- *doun kai oi alloi)tstststststs*
- *kala ashioti en eperimena na protinis kati diaforetiko...*
- *panagia mu en exo orexi gia mathitika party idika se etsi panepistimia:P:P*
- *ego protimo na pame kapou emis...tsiame esi ena pezis , ena eine pitta kai en*
- *tha mporo kan na miliso kanenou!*

- **5. Andreas, October 18 at 12:33am**
- *re marnere, afou tsiamе espoudases... ?? nataly tha sou kleiso VIP kai tha sou*
- *piaso kai ena TILEVOA gia na mporeis na milas me olo ton kosmo :-)*

- **6. Alexandros, October 18 at 12:39am**
- *eshi tipotis? pe m... ishes kouventes re andrea! aman sou laloume na pexis gia*
- *ta party mas kathimerines kamnis mas koujia... twra pezis ke trites*

- **7. Nataly, October 18 at 1:00am**
- *pe tou re alexandre pe tou ta! simferontologos!panagia mu en tha allaxi pote!*
- *kai en thelo tilevoa!tstst! ate see u soon*

- **8. Andreas, October 18 at 1:18pm**

- re savva men klefkeis tis ekfraseis mou.. an theleis na paizeis ton pello, fkalle
- dikes sou kouventes...pote mou eipes na paikso kathimerines? prin ena xrono
- pou edouleuka?
- to idio isxiei kai gia tin nataly.. tststss
- **9. Valentina, October 18 at 8:12pm**
- pou enna eshei fain?????????eeee...na pame tsiamе!!!

INBOX MESSAGE (Translation)

Subject: london i am coming!!

Between Giannis, Alexandros, Vassia, Solomis, Melis, Eliza, Stephanos, Andreas, Margarita, Valentina and Nataly

- **1. Nataly, October 17 at 10:31pm**
- *So my guys, I am coming in London with Yiannis tomorrow and I will be staying till Thursday morning! Even though I want to see you all I don't know if I can do it...but I thought that maybe we can all go for dinner or a drink Or something else all together!listening to any ideas!eliza you should tell Joanna as we! see u soon!!xxxxx*
- **2. Andreas October 17 at 10:57pm**
- *I've got a really good idea.. come and listen to DJ ash at the imperial's party on tuesday ... tssssssssssssssssssss*
- **3. Giannis October 17 at 11:01pm**
- *I don't go in such worthless universities :P*
- **4. Nataly October 17 at 11:06pm**
- *So at the end of the story it was only your answer Eliza that was worth it (post it so everyone can see it) tststststst*
- *needles to say ashioti I didn't expect you to suggest anything different...*
- *jesus I am not in the mood for student parties especially in these universities:P*
- *:P I suggest we go somewhere when its just us...over there you will be playing Music there, it will be packed and I won't be able to talk to anyone!*
- **5. Andreas October 18 at 12:33am**
- *marnere, isn't it there that you studied.. ?? nataly I will book VIP for you and I will get you a LOUDSPEAKER as well so you can tak with everyone :-)*
- **6. Alexandros October 18 at 12:39am**
- *What's up? Be..... straight with me andrea! When we ask you to play for our party on weekdays you react ... now you are playing on Tuesdays*
- **7. Nataly October 18 at 1:00am**
- *Tell him alexandros tell him! Self-seeker!jesus he will never change!*
- *And I don't want a loudspeaker!tstst! ate see u soon*

6. Georgiana wrote

at 1:58pm on July 2nd, 2008

...ela ..an enois auto pou katalava..den einai oti anoi3e mparaki...aplos 3eris pou sto coral bay exei 2 'cafes' pou pianis granita ktl...e..to ena sta de3ia...vazi mousiki oli mera...kai theoretika ginete mparaki meta tis 8 kai klini i ora 2..vazi kai trapezakia konta sto kima..einai kalo..exei in fasi tou an pas me kali parea..

7. Georgiana wrote

at 11:50am on August 6th, 2008

...fisika kai to exeis...!!!

eimaste from london emeis..we are the tough ones girl..!!!:P

XX

8. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 2:19pm on August 9th, 2008

hey olgaki....howz u?

pws pernas?Pote tha kanoume ntou sto london?

Ebarithika dakat

9. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 10:51pm on August 13th, 2008

georgianastuck on my elevator....kalooo tragoudaki

10. Georgiana wrote

at 10:24pm on August 14th, 2008

..oti einai einai:P

stathera sto autokinitoo...hihi

p ise kiria mm?...pou xanese?

11. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 6:58pm on September 10th, 2008

Georgianaki....get on with it kai ela piswwwwwwwwww london!

12. Georgiana wrote

at 1:38pm on September 11th, 2008

...ma eisai already in london sweetyy??

18 erxomeee

ti lei to londino??

13. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 4:18pm on September 11th, 2008

ti leei????????? ELeos.....!!!!!!Vrexei,,,,vrexei,,,,vrexei.....!!!!Mporei na xreiaستهs PROZAC tis prwtes meres!!

14. Georgiana wrote

at 3:19pm on September 22nd, 2008

...honeyyy..p vriskeseee??..ti kaneis? pote tha se doume?

15. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 6:48pm on September 22nd, 2008

hey babes.....a bit here and there!Pu eisai?Eftases ok?Prosarmostikame to this sorry ass weather?

16. Georgiana wrote

at 7:12pm on September 23rd, 2008

...ime nido:P

itan mia xara otan irtha....simera xalase o skatokairos:(
telospanton...eimaste kalitera apo tin thesaloniki...kati einai kai auto:P

kai btw....xronia sou polla glikia mou...sou euxome oti epithimis ... na eisai panta to idio theotreli kai a3iolatreuti!!!)

have fun...today, tomorrow and always!!!

xxx

17. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 7:18pm on September 23rd, 2008

Eyxaristw baby...elpizw na ta poume syntoma!

18. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 19:22 on 09 December 2008

Yiavashouin mou xronia sou polla agapi!!!!NA ziseis!!!!

19. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 00:48 on 18 March 2009

Prwto Comment: You are meant for each other...cute babies!!!

Deutero comment: parakaleiste na min periorizeste sto commenting on status updates and photos kai na epekteinete tis drastiriotites sas se grapto logo outws wste na epivevaiwsete tin yparki sas!!!

Pou eisai re pelloplasma??????

20. Georgiana wrote

at 03:07 on 19 March 2009

... :))))))))))))))

ime edoooooooooooo..sto nidoo..kai dierotame ..dissertation or no dissertation?

makouei kaneiss?:P

21. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 01:55 on 20 March 2009

Ela lamvaneis?????? Esheis chance as poume na kameis dissertation????En

nomizw.....opote kareklwthou kai arkepse... :) Tin epomeni fora pou na ertw prepei na se doume kai sena re honey!

22. Georgiana wrote

at 01:57 on 20 March 2009

...elaaa..over!!!

valentinaaaaa eimai asxetilaaaa...tha piase 0 sto dissertationnnnnn

afou den me enimeronete peri tis afi3is sou trelokoritsooo...

akousa kati fimes pos tha se doume tin triti:P

23. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 02:08 on 20 March 2009

Xaxaxaxa.....ma de tous koutsompolies re...akoma en prolava na pw to ok kai
ediadwsan to!!!!

24. Georgiana wrote

at 02:10 on 20 March 2009

..e..ama eisai star prepi na ta perimenis auta:P

Translation

1. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 7:15pm on June 28th, 2008

Hey honey, how are you? How's everything? How's paphos?

2. Georgiana wrote

at 2:02am on July 2nd, 2008

..hey honey..!!

All is good. God bless..!!

Well Paphos, you know, same old...Now that the football's over we no longer go to the cafes on a daily basis:P

Summer is packed on Saturdays! Honestly..

Cous cous is nice ..But it is not as popular as 'epafes'..

How are you?..When are you coming?..(that is if you are not here yet:P)

3. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 2:03am on July 2nd, 2008

Coming in two weeks....Hallelujah!!!! I soooo want to go to the beach and I soooo want to go to 'summerrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr'

You do have my CY number right?

4. Georgiana wrote

at 2:10am on July 2nd, 2008

..you know what? ..now that you've mentioned the beach..Last year everybody was down at the beach...This year I don't know what's going on but there's no one there When you ask around if anyone has been to the beach they say they've gone maybe 4 times...

But until you get here we will also have the students coming home from Greece and so there will be people going to the beach... Now, everyone is just too young..!!

Nope.. I don't think we've exchanged numbers..

You should give me your number to arrange to go for coffee..

How's London?..the weather?..

5. Valentina Christodoulou wrote

at 1:02pm on July 2nd, 2008

Well, yesterday was too hot, today its oh my god.....And then one wonders why there's such a high suicidal rate in London!By the way I've been told there's a new bar at coral bay, on the beach, that's open until 2am.....I need to check it out! :)))I will let u know my number!

6. Georgiana wrote

at 1:58pm on July 2nd, 2008

...hey ..If it's what I have in mind what you are talking about..It's not really a bar...It's just... you know how there used to be 2 'cafes' at coral bay selling slash-puppies etc...well..at the one on the right...there's music all day...and theoretically it turns into a bar after 8 and closes at 2..also there are tables by the sea..it's nice..especially if you go with a nice crowd..

7. Georgiana wrote

at 11:50am on August 6th, 2008

*...of course you own it...!!!
We are from London..we are the tough ones girl...!!!:P
xx*

8. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
*at 2:19pm on August 9th, 2008
hey Georgiana.....howz u?
How are you doing? When are you back in London?
I'm bored hereeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee*

9. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
*at 10:51pm on August 13th, 2008
georgianastuck on my elevator....Nice song*

10. Georgiana wrote
*at 10:24pm on August 14th, 2008
..It is it is:P
Listening to it while driving...hihi
Where are you Miss?... Where are you disappearing to?*

11. Valentina wrote
*at 6:58pm on September 10th, 2008
Georgianaki.....get on with it and come baaaaaack to london!*

12. Georgiana wrote
*at 1:38pm on September 11th, 2008
..What? Are you already in london sweetyy??
I'm coming on the 18th
How's London??*

13. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
*at 4:18pm on September 11th, 2008
How's London????????? Somebody please show
mercy.....!!!!!!Rain,,,,rain,,,,rain.....!!!!!!You might actually need to take
PROZAC on your first days back!!*

14. Georgiana wrote
*at 3:19pm on September 22nd, 2008
...honeyyy..where are you??.How are you? When are we seeing you?*

15. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
*at 6:48pm on September 22nd, 2008
hey babes.....a bit here and there! Where are you? Did you get here safe? Did we get
used to this sorry ass weather?*

16. Georgiana wrote
*at 7:12pm on September 23rd, 2008
...I'm at Nido:P
It was fine when I got here....Today we are back to the shitty weather:(
anyway...The weather is much better here as opposed to Thessaloniki...and this is
something:P*

oh and btw....happy birthday my sweetie...may all your dreams come true ... May you always be as crazy and loveable as now!!!:)
have fun...today, tomorrow and always!!!
xxx

17. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
at 7:18pm on September 23rd, 2008
Thank you baby...Hope to see you soon!

18. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
at 19:22 on 09 December 2008
Yiavashouin happy birthday love!!!! Best wishes!!!!

19. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
at 00:48 on 18 March 2009
First Comment: You are meant for each other...cute babies!!!
Second comment: You are asked not to restrict yourselves on commenting on status updates and photos and expand your activities in written form so that you may confirm your existence!!!
Where are you, you crazy girl???????

20. Georgiana wrote
at 03:07 on 19 March 2009
... :))))))))))))))
i'm hereeeeeee..at nidoo..and wondering ..dissertation or no dissertation?
anybody listening??:P

21. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
at 01:55 on 20 March 2009
Hey, do you copy?????? Is there a chance of not doing your dissertation???? Don't think so.....so sit down and get on with it... :) Next time I come over, I should see you too honey!

22. Georgiana wrote
at 01:57 on 20 March 2009
...heyyyy over!!!
valentinaaaaa I'm useless...I'll get a 0 on my dissertationnnnnnn
eh you haven't informed me of you are arrival you crazy girl...
I've hear this rumour that we are seeing you on Tuesday :P

23. Valentina Christodoulou wrote
at 02:08 on 20 March 2009
Hahahaha.....Gossip freaks...I haven't accepted the invitation yet and they've spread it around!!!!

24. Georgiana wrote
at 02:10 on 20 March 2009
.eh...when you are a star these are part of the drill:P

Appendix E6

The table below presents documented Facebook interactions between Society members who form among close-knit group members.

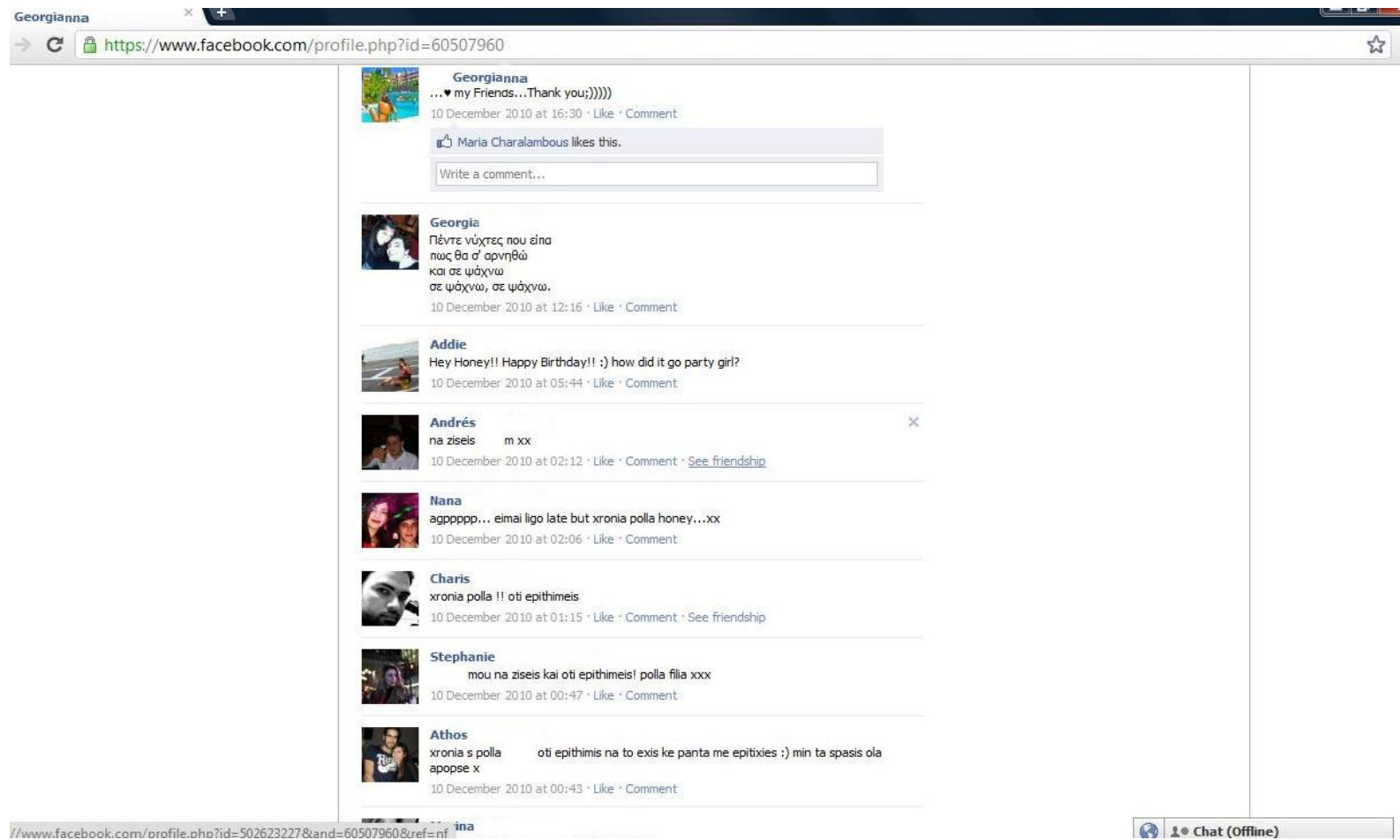
Table 12: Documented Facebook interactions among close-knit group members

Focal Participants	Participants named as close friends**	Interactions Documented in Facebook from 2007-2010	Participants named as close friends**	Interactions Documented in Facebook from 2007-2010
Eliza	Solon John Adrianne	✓ ✓ ✓	Alexandros Chrissie Joanna B.	X X X
Alexandros	Meni	✓	Solon Eliza	X X
John			Valentina Chrissie	X X
Thanos	Fedra George K. Michael	✓ ✓ ✓	Thalia	X
Andrianne	Michael Thanos Alexandros Eliza Andreas	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	Eliana George K. Fedra Gavriella	X X X X
Michael	Andreas Thanos George K. Nicholas P. Eliana	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	Fedra Gavriella Thalia	X X X
Chrissie			Thanos Michael John Eliana Eliza Gabriella	X X X X X X
Jennie	Julius Tina	✓ ✓	Chrissie Alexandros Thalia Michael	X X X X
Julius	Michael Tina Adrianne Valentina Jennie	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	John Alexandros Andreas	X X X
Georgiana	Alec Anthony Helen	✓ ✓ ✓	Ioanna. A.	X

NOTE: ** The names included under the heading ‘Participants named as close-friends’ are limited to the naming of focal participants and members of the Society. The naming of ‘external’ people was not included as access to their profiles was not granted and as follows no information could be obtained.

Appendix E7

The image below shows the 'Thank you' expression in Facebook status as a reply to friends wishes.



APPENDIX F

Member Diaries

ALEXANDROS' DIARY

.LOG

18:07 13/10/2009

Today I bumped into Gyula, Giannys and Menelaos at Guy's Campus and we talked abit about the upcoming dinner and any other possible events in the future. Another student also came and bought a ticket from Giannys for the dinner!

I also spoke by messages to Argyris and Nicholas P so that we could see how many tickets had been sold already.

21:49 13/10/2009

I spoke to Andria over the phone regarding arranging a musical for November! She told me a few options and we decided on sending an email to the committee so that they could give us feedback before proceeding to sending out an email to members and booking tickets!

I also spoke to some friends from another university who wanted 2-3 tickets for the dinner but who will confirm in due course.

22:16 14/10/2009

Today I spoke to Nicholas M over the phone about the dinner and how many people we have already who had made reservations. We agreed that tomorrow I would call people who were selling tickets to find out exact numbers so that I could tell Nicholas and he could call the restaurant manager.

After that I spoke to Chrysia by text message who told me that she wanted me to reserve her a few tickets as I had not been able to meet her to give her the tickets before hand.

In the loggy of my hall today I bumped into one of the cypriot students who told me to save him a ticket for friday's dinner.

13:03 15/10/2009

I spoke to Argyris on the phone who called me to tell me that he needed extra tickets, I told him I would call him later.

I also messaged Gyula about a finance issue for the society asking him sort it out as he is the treasurer.

19:18 15/10/2009

Called Nicholas but he didnt answer so I texted him the number of people coming to the dinner.

Argyris called me but I missed his call and now he isn't replying!

Giannys and I spoke over the phone about future events in association with imperial perhaps. He went to their event last night and saw some people from the committee who he spoke to!

18:37 16/10/2009

I spoke to Nicholas and Chrysia on the phone today about the dinner and arranged what time to meet them there.. They will be late but that's ok.

I texted Argyris because I missed his call again and he told me of the final numbers of people coming.

Some members who had bought a ticket called me to tell me that they wanted to come just for drinks but told them that we had already booked the restaurant so it wasn't possible to cancel. I explained that we normally presell the tickets but as I knew one of them I had decided to reserve them for them.

20:03 17/10/2009

Yesterday was an enjoyable evening... we spoke to all the members, had fun and most people stayed on till later including some who came just for drinks afterwards. All in all it was a nice time. Today I went to Pelides house to pick up some personal stuff and we talked about our trip and decided that we should send an email out soon with a deadline so that we can organise things. The date of return coincides with Megali Deutera so we were debating whether this would be a problem but it shouldn't be too much of a problem and whoever wants to come will come.

Last night I also spoke to Chrysia and Andria about the musical and they have come up with three options and we will send them out to people so that we can decide and also move along with that.

Giannys called me up to ask me whether I had forwarded an email Imperial Society had sent him about a party they had organised. I told him that it would be better if their President had called me to tell me this so that I could meet him as well rather than going indirectly as this is what the UCL president had done and which I felt was more appropriate.

18:55 18/10/2009

I sent a message to all members today to let them know of what we talked about yesterday regarding the trip with Nicholas and I'm going to send an email out tonight to all members about this.

Last night the vice president of Imperial CySoc called me to let me know about their party. He sent me an email invite and asked me if I could forward it on.

I also tried calling Argyris to ask him how the website is progressing.

Nicholas made a private facebook group last night so that we could write on that rather than email each other because he says he finds emails a nuisance. Andrea agrees on the facebook group, the rest are yet to reply. I think it's a good idea as well.

20:16 18/10/2009

I emailed the rest of the committee with the trip email to get their approval before I send it off to all other members.

20:07 19/10/2009

I met with Gyula today who came by and we signed some financial forms for the union.

I also communicated via email with Andria, Giannys, Nicholas P regarding the email for the trip and Andria also sent an email to everyone about the options of our musical night.

21:20 20/10/2009

I spoke with Andria over the phone today regarding the musical as some places have not replied yet to us about their prices. Also I asked her advice regarding the email for the trip which is due to be sent out tomorrow.

ADRIANNE'S DIARY

.LOG

19:55 13/10/2009

simera to prwi esteile mou msg o savvas to prwi gia na dei an ime kala k na m dilwsei pws en sinaetai na diavasei.

esteile m o yiangou msg na m pei oti den tha erthei sto dinner tou society.

esteile mou email i nikoletta me mia photo tis gia na me kanei cheer up k antallasame emails oli mera san imoun at work.

esteile m i xrisia email tonight gia na apofasisoume se poio musical na kleisoume na paei to society.

milisa tin nixta me ton savva kai tin chryssia to vradi sto tilefwno gia to musical.

21:39 14/10/2009

simera to prwi esteila msg stin nikoletta na dw an ine kala kai milisame sto til argotera to apogevma

plus facebook stalking throughout the whole day vasika na checkarw poioi tha erthoun sto event tis paraskevis (greek dinner) kai na dw an ekame update to profile tou o yiangou (pathetic i know)

23:13 15/10/2009

simera esteile mou kalimera i nikoletta apo txt message kai meta facebook message epd en exw sima sti douleia..

tin nixta esteile mou o savvas sms na me enimerwsei gia ta teleftaia details tou dinner avrio

prin ligo emilisa me tin nikoletta sto tilefwno (nai en i kainourgia mou sxesi :P)

21:24 17/10/2009

I was away on Friday night - imoun Londino gia to Greek Dinner sto Jimmy's me to cypriot society

Simera emilisa me msgs me ton savva, emeina to vradi stin nikoletta (wild night rooooooooooaaaaar :P) kai meta milisa me ton yiangou sto tilefwno k irthe ston stathmo prin na ertw home k milisame.

episis apopse ekame o pelides facebook group gia to committee tou society gia na sinennoomaste k egrapsa tous gia ta theatre quotes pou epiasa gia ta musicals.

22:59 18/10/2009

simera emilisa me tin nikoletta pou txt messages k meta me pire tilefwno tin nixta emilisa me ton savva apo txt k meta etilefwnithikame regarding the end of year trip esteila facebook message stis kopelles tis unite gia na tis kourtisw na pame kamia athina ton fevrari (btw erkesai??? eshei kala sximata :P)

21:59 19/10/2009

loipon simera stathera milisa me tin nea mou sxesi (tin nikoletta) pou txt messages k facebook msg at work epd en exw sima

episis esinennoithikame me to society oso afora musicals kai to end of year trip mesw hotmail

estile m o savvas txt na m pei ena point p ixh na kamei gia to trip

i wasted oulli m tin nixta mes to facebook na skeftomai ti na valw sto status mou gia na tara3w ton yiangou. apparently omws afti ti stigmi ine se freshers party (edei3e oti kamnei attend sto facebook) so apla tha paw na ppsw j kanei!!

21:13 20/10/2009

simera emilisa me txts me tin nikoletta k phone me ton savva gia 2-3 things tou society
not much really.. afta!

Translation

.LOG

19:55 13/10/2009

I got a text message this morning from savvas checking up on me and stating that he refuses to sit down and study.

I got a text from Yiangou saying that he won't be able to come to the Society dinner. Nicoletta emailed me a photo of her to cheer me up and we kept exchanging mails all day while I was at work.

Chrysia sent me an email to organise the 'Musical' event.

I had a chat over the phone with Chrysia and Savvas about the Musical event.

21:39 14/10/2009

I sent Nicoletta a text message this morning, just to see how she was and then we also spoke on the phone in the afternoon.

Plus I was Facebook stalking throughout the whole day checking who's going to the Friday event (Greek dinner) and I was also checking up on Yiangou's profile to see whether there were any updates (pathetic I know)

23:13 15/10/2009

This morning I got a text message from Nicoletta saying good- morning and then she sent me Facebook messages since there's no signal at work.

At night I got a text message from Savvas updating me for the very last details for tomorrow's dinner.

A while ago I had a chat with Nicoletta on the phone (yes she is my new relationship:P)

21:24 17/10/2009

I was away on Friday night – I was in London for the Cypriot Society's Greek Dinner at Jimmy's.

I've exchanged a few text messages with Savvas and I spent the night at Nicoletta's place (wild night rooooooooooaaaaar :P) and then I've had a chat with Yiangou on the phone. He then came to the train station and we had a talk.

Also, tonight Pelides created a group on Facebook for the committee members; in order to communicate better and I've posted the theatre quotes that I got for the musicals.

22:59 18/10/2009

Today I've exchanged a few text messages with Nicoletta and then she gave me a ring I've also talked to Savvas via SMS and then via the phone to organise the end of year trip.

I've sent a facebook message to the girls stay at UNITE to organise them to go to Athens on February. (btw would you like to come??? There are some pretty good concerts :P)

21:59 19/10/2009

Okay so today I had a chat via SMS and Facebook since I have no signal at work, messages with my new relationship (Nicoletta).

We have also organised the end of year trip and the Musical with the committee members via hotmail.

Savvas sent me a text message regarding the end of year trip.

I've wasted my whole night on Facebook, thinking what my next status update will be so that to shock Yiangou. Apparently though, he is at a Fresher's party as we speak (I saw he was attending on Facebook) so I guess I'm just going to bed and end of story.

21:13 20/10/2009

Today I've exchanged a few texts with Nicoletta and I was on the phone with Savvas for 1-3 things regarding the society

Not much really... That's all!

ELIZA'S DIARY

LOG

13/10 10:45

Emailed Andrea just to say goodmorning and wish her to have a nice day (no signal in glaxosmithkline at Stevenage)

13/10 11:50

Interpersonal contact with Chrysia chat and give her change for the laundry

13/10 12:50

MSN chat with Nicoletta check up on how I am, wish her good luck on her language test

13/10 13:00

Facebook message Andrea tickets for Jimmys

13/10 15:00 Interpersonal Contact with Chrysia and Gabriela lunch

13/10 16:45 SMS to Andrea just to check up on her

13/10 18:00 Interpersonal Contact dinner with Solomis Chrysia and Nicoletta

Interpersonal Contact 13/10 22:00 get together with Chrysia Ileana Maria Gabriela and Margarita (chat and games)

Phone Call Andrea 14/10 13:10 just to chat

SMS Chrysia 14/10 14:00 arrange tickets for Jimmys

SMS Ester 14/10 17:00 just to say hello and comment on her new iphone

SMS Solomis 14/10 18:00 update

Phone Call Menelaos 14/10 21:30 chat and catch up

SMS Andrea 15/10 10:30 note that I was woken up by the fire alarm

SMS Tina 15/10 15:30 arrange to meet up to get notes and handouts I've missed this week

Phone Call Andrea 15/10 16:45 chat while she heads to the gym and make plans for tomorrow

Skype call Parents 15/10 19:30 let them know I'm feeling better already

Phone Call Chrysia 15/10 22:00 chat, check up on how I am and plan tomorrow's day at the library

Facebook Andrea 16/10 10:30 say goodmorning!

Interpersonal contact Tina 16/10 16:30 get last week's notes

Interpersonal Contact Cy Soc 16/10 21:00 dinner at Jimmy's

SMS Solomis 17/10 11:00 let him know that everything turned out well and feeling much better already

Interpersonal Contact 17/10 at home with Maria, Ileana, Gabriela, Chrysia, Nicoletta, Thalia

SMS chrissie 18/10 12:30 meet up to go to the supermarket

SMS Tina 19/10 10:30 just to let her know that we were not assigned anything for practical criticism

Facebook Message Andrea 19/10 11:00 let her know the plan for the day as well as say goodmorning

Interpersonal Contact 19/10 15:00 lunch with Thalia and Nicoletta
SMS Ester 19/10 16:00 trying to be annoying while she is studying and arrange coffee over next week
SMS my sister 19/10 16:00 make sure my fish is still alive and well fed!
Phone Call Andrea 19/10 20:00 chat about almost everything, very random conversation including what she had for dinner and how tiring were her gym classes

SMS chrissie 20/10 11:00 wish her to have a good journey since she is off to Portugal
SMS Dad 20/10 17:00 ask whether he has made the second installment for the accommodation fees.

APPENDIX G

Appendix G1

Close-knit group Recording B

Recording: During lunch break on campus, 13/10/2009

Participants: John, Meni, Gyula, Alexandros, Eugene.

1. John: Που ε - ένα λεπτό μα εν να πον να γίνει, το point ότι =
2. Gyula: =ο Αλέξαντρος επροσπαθούσεν, λαλεί να στείλει κάτι για το UCL τσαι
3. είπαμεν εμείς να του σύρουμε μια σπόντα να το κάμουμεν μαζί
4. John: Καλά το UCL πάντα θέλει να τα κάμνει μόνον του ρε μαλάκα.
5. Gyula: Ντάξει μπορεί στα- στα- εν θα θέλουν να κάμουμε
6. John: Εγώ πιστεύω ότι αν θα κάμουμεν την Τρίτη κάτι τσαι έσαι τσαι το
7. Imperial πρέπει να το κάμουμεν μαζί, διότι εν να εν πιο καλό =
8. Gyula: =Ντάξει. Μα σε club;
9. John: Μμ
10. Gyula: Μα 'ντα club; Μεγάλο;
11. John: Ρε φίλε περασμένη φορά εκάμαμεν το στο Rumi, ήταν εφτά λίρες η
12. είσοδος ας πούμεν.
13. Gyula: Στο Rumi;
14. John: Rumi ένα στο South Ken, ποτισή πλευρές τσαι ήταν πολλά ωραίο τσαι
15. έπαιζεν ο Ash, συνήθως εν τον Ash που φέρνουν.
16. Meni: South Kent;
17. John: South Ken...φεύκεις εσύ. Τέλειο (..) Τσαι ήταν ωραία φάση.
18. Gyula: [Καλάν εν επειδή]
19. Meni: [Καλά ρε] εν τούντην Τρίτη που λέτε;
20. John: Σήμερα έχουν το bar night τους. Την άλλην Τρίτην τες 20 του μήνα έχουν
21. τούντο πράμα.
22. Gyula: Εμείς, εμείς εν να που 'χουμεν (..) σε θκυό εφτομάες;
23. Meni: Εν εν πολλά νωρίς για να- εννοώ εν εν πολλά λίον το περιθώριο για να
24. μπούμε μεσ'σε party;
25. John: Αφού εν εκανονίσαν τον venue ακόμα.
26. Meni: Εν εκανονισαν το venue; Καλ(η)ά ρε πότε εν να το=
27. John: =Κανονίζουν τα έτσι τούτοι ρε εν τσαι 'χουν πρόβλημα.
28. Gyula: Ε ναι μα τούτοι εν αθκιασεροί.
29. John: Μμ.
30. Meni: Εν να πρέπει κανονίσουμε κάτι για τη(η)ν επό(η)μενη Τρίτη;
31. John: Λοιπόν, αύριο το party HEI, χαχαχαχα. Ε φίλε νομίζω εν να εν ωραία
32. φάση να μπούμε μέσα=
33. Gyula: =Είπαν μου τσαι το Hellenic Society να κανονισουμε κάτι.
34. Meni: Να μπον τούτο;
35. Gyula: Επειδή μίλησα εχτές με το Θάνο τσαι τον Γιώργο τσαι εν να κάμουν
36. τσαι τσιείνοι το Waterfront party τους την Παρασκευή, τσιείνο που εκάμαμεν
37. εμείς την προηγούμενην εφτομάν. Άρα φαίνονται οργανωμένοι.
38. John: Ποιοι;
39. Gyula: Να δούμε αν πετύχει, να δούμε άμμαν εν να φέρουν μέλη την

40. Παρασκευή, οι καλαμαράες. Τσiai είπαν μου ρε θέλουμε να κάμουμεν κάτι μαζί
 41. σας.
 42. John: Εγώ emίλησα με τον Αλέξαντρο, Στέλλει μου ο Αλέξαντρος ένα μήνυμα.
 43. Το μην- ωω το σκιουράκι. Στέλλει μου ο Αλέξαντρος ένα μήνυμα, κάμνει μου
 44. έτσι, το μήνυμα έλεγε: ήταν ένα τηλέφωνο τσiai λαλεί μου Ισοδίου events-
 45. sports officer του UCL. Τούτο (h)εν(h) το μήνυμα.
 46. Gyula: Περίμενε εσύ εν να που 'σαι στο committee;
 47. John: Events.
 48. Gyula: Αα.
 49. John: Λοιπόν πιάνω τοον, πιάνω τον Αλέξαντρο, λαλώ του εν να που θέλεις,
 50. λαλεί μου ξέρεις τον Ισοδίου; Λαλώ του ξέρω τον Ισοδίου λαλώ του εν καλός
 51. μου φίλος. Λαλεί μου ωραία λαλεί μου εν να κανονίσεις καμιά μάππα; Να
 52. κανονίσω λαλώ του, να μιλήσω λαλώ του, θέλεις μιξ όξα θέλεις μόνο σουβλάκια;
 53. Ξέρεις.
 54. Gyula: Ήξερα το.
 55. Meni: Μόνο σουβλάκια;=
 56. Gyula: =Εν έσιει μιξ.=
 57. Meni: =όξα μίξ; [Γεναίτζες]
 58. Gyula: [αααα]
 59. John: Λαλεί μου κοίταξε=
 60. Gyula: = Εεε ποιόν ρε μεγάλε;
 61. John: εν να σιει action λαλεί μου αν εν μιξ, αλλά ντάξει. Αν δεν ποσονούμαστε
 62. λαλεί μου οι άντρες (.)
 63. Meni: Να βάλεις γεναίτζες μέσα, εν θα εν πολλά το ίδιο εννοείται
64. John: Ρε Alexandros πρέπει να σου πώ κάτι.
 65. Alexandros: Πέ μου κάτι. Πέ μου ότι θέλεις.
 66. John: Αποφάσισα να γίνω gay, ο(h)ϊ ρε!
 67. Gyula: Εν τω μεταξύ εν η δεύτερη φορά που το λαλείς.
 68. Alexandros: Τούτον ηξέραμεν το.
 69. Gyula: Να σου πώ κάτι, είμαι gay.
 70. John: Έλα σου πώ έπιαν με ο κολλητός μου που το Imperial. Είπεν μου ότι
 71. σήμερα έχουν bar night το Imperial, που απ'ότι εκατάλαβα εν όπως το dinner μας
 72. αλλά κάμνουν το bar night τσιείνοι, πάσιν σε ένα μπαράκι, επήα τσiai 'γώ πέρσι
 73. στο πρώτον τους. Την άλλην Τρίτη τες είκοσι έχουν- σκέφτουντε να κανονίσουν,
 74. οι σκέφτουντε εν να κανονίσουν club, που εν να εν του Imperial, τσiai είπεν μου
 75. αν εθέλαμεν να βάλουμε τσiai το HEI μέσα. Λοιπόν emίλησα του, είπεν μου ο
 76. Gyula σκεφτούμαστεν τσiai 'μεις κάτι για την άλλην Τρίτη.
 77. Alexandros: Εσκεφτούμαστεν [οι για την άλλη Τρίτη] αλλά [για Τρίτη]
 78. Παρασκευή οπότεν εν ηξέρω
 79. Gyula: [οι για την άλλη Τρίτη]
 80. John: [Ντάξει]. Απλά εν
 81. το θέμα ότι εν τσιείνο που εσκεφτούμεν τσiai emίλησα μαζί του ότι εν ημπορώ
 82. ααα τσιείνη εν η Κυπραία που μου έκαμεν μιαν ημέραν tutorial.
 83. Alexandros: Αα;
 84. John: τούτη εν η Κυπραία που μου έκαμεν μιαν ημέραν tutorial. Ήταν έγκυος
 85. πέρσι που μας έκαμε το tutorial τσiai δουλεύκει, δουλεύκει δαμέ εν γιατρός τσiai
 86. δουλεύκει στο KCH κάπου τσιαμέ. Anyway, που λές εεε τσiai είπα τους ότι ας
 87. πούμεν αν φέρουμε τον κόσμο μας, δηλαδή αν σας κάμουμε support σαν HEI εν

88. να πρέπει να μπει το όνομα μας πάστο εισιτήριο=
89. Meni: = Ναι, ναι=
90. John: =τσιαι να πρέπει να πιάμεν κάποιο [κάποιο],
91. Alexandros: [ναι, σίγουρα]
92. John: εν θαν σίγουρα πεήντα-πεήντα, υπολογίζω διότι [τσεινίνοι εν να παρουσιν
93. μιν φάουσιν]
94. Alexandros: [οϊ εν εν παραπάνω, εν να
95. εν πενήντα τριάντα ας πούμεν.
96. John: Εεε αχα.
97. Alexandros: Εν να σου πιά λιο ρε.
98. John: Πιάσμου ρε, φάε.
99. Meni: Carrot cake;
100. John: Muffin ρε. Ε πιάε ρε πρήχτη. Δώσ' τσιαι του Meni. Ναι. Δηλαδή να
101. τους πω να... κόψετε....
102. Alexandros: Γιατί εν του λαλεις να πιάει ένα τηλέφωνο. Εγώ τον πρόεδρο
103. τους εν τσιαι εγνώρισα τον ακόμα.
104. John: Ήνταλώς τον λαλούν; Λευτέρη.
105. Alexandros: Λευτέρη.
106. John: Λευτέρη, Λευτέρη, Λευτέρη. Ντα εν να τον δώ πόψε τον Λευτέρη
107. επειδή εν να πάω σε τούτο το bar night τους που να κάμουν.
108. Alexandros: Ντάξει πιάστον τηλέφωνο, εγύρευκα τον να γνωριστούμε=
109. John: =Ντάξει. Εν νααα Ρε πιστεύω εν να [εν καλή]
110. Alexandros: [Εγώ ενόμιζα εν επιέναν καλά]
111. John: Ααα;
112. Alexandros: Εγώ ενόμιζα εν επιέναν καλά τσεινίνοι.
113. John: Ρε φίλε εν ηξέρω, εγω έχω πολλήν εμπιστοσύνη του Goofy ρε φίλε, ο
114. Goofy μπορεί να μεν τον εψηφίσαν πρόεδρο αλλά εν πολλά δυνατός πάστην
115. οργάνωση.
116. Alexandros: Οϊ πιστεύω εν καλό, απλά είπα σου εν Τρίτη τσιαι εμείς έχουμε
117. την Παρασκευή dinner,
118. Gyula: Ποιο;
119. Meni: Ναι
120. Gyula: Α ναι
121. Alexandros: πότε εν να στείλουμε εμείς e-mail;
122. Gyula: χαχαχα. Έλα ρε.
123. Alexandros: Αλλά κάμνουμεν τους το=
124. John: =Άεισε να του πώ να =
125. Alexandros: =Οϊ οϊ [εν έσει πρόβλημα, εσύ μάθε]
126. Gyula: [Ε με εν να οργανωθούν ρεε]
127. Alexandros: τσιαι να μιλήσουμε τσιαι με τους άλλους, να στείλω ένα e-mail
128. ούλλους πόψε να δούμε εν να που να νομίζετε.
129. John: Ρε φίλε εν το θέμα ότι απ' ότι εκατάλαβα είπαν μου ότι εν εκλείσαν
130. ακόμα venue.
131. Alexandros: Ε οϊ εν να το έβρουν [που τα σήμερα διότι εν να εν] αργά, αν το
132. κάμουν σε θκυό τρεις εφτομάες δέχουμαι το
133. John: [Είπαν μου εν να το έβρουν]
134. Εε οϊ νομίζω εν να το [έβρουν]
135. Gyula: [Διαφημίσεις τσιαι..]
136. John: Εε εν τούτο. Εν να τους ρωτήσω ρε φίλε, εν να δω τσιαι εν να του πω
137. τσιαι του Λευτέρη να σε [πιάει εσένα τηλέφωνο]

138. Gyula: [Εμείς αν εκάμαμε] club ήντα μέρα εν να το κάμαμε;
139. Alexandros: Πάλε έτσι πρέπει να το κάμουμε επειδή εν ο μόνος τρόπος=
140. Gyula: =Ντάξει
141. Alexandros: Απλά εν ηξέρω αν εμείς μπορούμε να βάλουμε εκατόν πενήντα
142. άτομα σε ένα club μόνοι μας.
143. Gyula: Ρε εσυ τον Θάνο τσαι τον Γιώργο ξέρεις τον;
144. Alexandros: Τον Θάνο ξέρω τον ναι, τσαι τον Γιώργο
145. Gyula: [Ναι Απλά] εθέλαν πολλά –
146. Alexandros: [Αλλά-] =
147. Gyula: =εν να κάμουν την Παρασκευή όπως εκάμαμεν εμείς στο Waterfront,
148. τούντην Παρασκευή =
149. Alexandros: =Να δούμε πόσα άτομα εν να ‘ρτουν=
150. Gyula: =τσαι είπαν μου αν θέλουμε να πάμεν εμείς, τσαι είπα τους να ‘ρτουν
151. τσαι τσιείνοι
152. Alexandros: Εγώ νομίζω εν θα ‘ρτουν, νομίζω εν εν [πολλάαα ντάξει]
153. Gyula: [Τσαι θέλω να δώ κατά
154. πόσο εν να πετύχει τσιείνο που να κάμουν. Απ’ότι εκατάλαβα βρίσκουν το λιο
155. δύσκολο να επικοινωνήσουν με τααα, τσαι άμαν κάμω engage ας πούμεν
156. πόσο πετυχημένοι ένι μπορούμε μετα να πάμε.
157. John: Εγώ; Χαχαχαχαχα
158. Alexandros: η ώρα δεκα τσαι είκοσι την ημέρα εν να σου την πισκαλίσω,
159. μπορεί να σε πισκαλίσω τσαι τωρά
160. John: Ρε φιλέ εχτές επειδή ήμουν πολλά φορτισμένος=
161. Alexandros: Ήντα φορτισμένος ήσουν;
162. John: Οϊ ήμουν πολλά φορτισμένος=
163. Gyula: = ψυχολογικά; =
164. John: =οϊ οϊ είχα είχα [είχα συζητήσεις] ↑είχα συζητήσεις ρε κουμπάρε.
165. Alexandros: [εν το καταλάβω]
166. John: [Ημουν πολλά αγχωμέ-] ήπια θκυό πακκέττα εχτές.
167. Alexandros: [Εν να που με ενδιαφέρει] Θκυό
168. πακκέττα ρε μα χάννεις;
169. Gyula: Πιιι 40;
170. John: Αλλά κανονικά πίνω μισό προς ένα, δηλαδή τρία κάρτα.
171. Meni: Που τα πίνει ρε τούτος τα πακέττα;
172. Gyula: Πακέττα, χα, χα, χα.
173. John: Χα, χα, χα θκυό baguette. Ε φίλε
174. Alexandros: Θκυό ρε [μα χάνεις]
175. John: [Ήταν πιντέ-], εν καλά που σου λαλώ ήπια θκυό
176. πακκέττα
177. Alexandros: Ήνταλως τα πίνεις ρε μαλάκα θκυό θκυό;
178. John: Χα, χα, χα.

Translation

1. John: That – one minute, so what's going to happen, the point is =
2. Gyula: = Alexandros was trying to, well he thought of sending something for the
3. UCL and we thought of hinting that we'd like to help and work together
4. John: Well, mate, UCL had always wanted to do stuff on its own.
5. Gyula: Okay they might - might- not want to work together
6. John: I believe that if we are organising something for Tuesday and there's also an
7. event at Imperial we should all do it together because it will just be better
8. Gyula: =Okay. But you mean at a club?
9. John: Mm
10. Gyula: But what sort of a club? A big one?
11. John: My friend, last time we've had the party Rumi, entry fee was seven pounds
12. Lets say.
13. Gyula: Rumi?
14. John: Rumi is at South Ken, or anyway on that side (of London) it was very nice
15. actually and music was by dj Ash, they usually get Ash to play the music.
16. Meni: South Kent;
17. John: South Ken...That's too far. Perfect (..) And it was actually nice.
18. Gyula: [Okay is it because]
19. Meni: [Okay] is it for this coming Tuesday you guys are talking about?
20. John: Today is bar night. Next Tuesday on the 20th they have the Bar night again.
21. Gyula: We, what are we doing (..) in two weeks?
22. Meni: Isn't it too early t- what I'm trying to say is that isn't this too little time for
23. organising a party?
24. John: But they haven't booked the venue yet.
25. Meni: They haven't booked the venue? Ooooookay so when=
26. John: =Don't worry they arrange things quickly.
27. Gyula: Well yes, because they have nothing better to do.
28. John: Mm.
29. Meni: Do we have to plan something for next Tuesday?
30. John: Okay so, tomorrow we are having our HEI party, hahahaha. My friend I
31. think it will be nice if we joint them=
32. Gyula: =I was also told by the Hellenic Society that we should all arrange
33. something together.
34. Meni: What is this?
35. Gyula: Well, I've had a chat yesterday with Thanos and George and they are
36. Having a party too, at the Waterfront on Friday- you know the same sort of thing
37. we had last week. So, em, they seem organised.
38. John: Who?
39. Gyula: Let's see if it works, we'll see if they have enough members on Friday, you
40. know the kalamaraes. And they said to me: it would be nice if we could all
41. organise something together.
42. John: Well, I had a chat with Alexandros, and Alexandros sent me a text. The
43. tex- awww a little squirrel. So Alexandros sent me a text and said, well the
44. text said: well it was Isodiou's phone number- the events officer of
45. UCL. This was his text.
46. Gyula: Okay, wait which position are you holding exactly in the committee
47. John: Events.

48. Gyula: *Aah.*
 49. John: *So I called him, I called Alexandros, and said to him what is it that you want,*
 50. *and he said to me: Have you met Isodiou? And I've said not only do I know*
 51. *Isodiou but he is a good friend of mine.*
 52. *And he said to me, nice! So are you arranging a football match (with the UCL)?*
 53. *Okay I will arrange it- I said to him, I'll talk to him, Do you want me to get you*
 54. *mixed Kebab or just Kebab. You know.*
 55. Gyula: *I knew this.*
 56. Meni: *Just Kebab? =*
 57. Gyula: *=There's no mixed. =*
 58. Meni: *= or maybe mixed [Women!!!]*
 59. Gyula: *[aaaaa]*
 60. John: *He says to me =*
 61. Gyula: *= So which is it dude?*
 62. John: *well he said to me that it will be more fun if we are a mixed group. But if*
 63. *there's not enough of us then it's just*
 64. *Us guys(.)*
 65. Meni: *Well if there are women involved, obviously it won't be the same*

 66. John: *Alexandros I need to talk to you.*
 67. Alexandros: *Talk to me. Tell me whatever it is that you'd like to say.*
 68. John: *I've decided to come out of the closet, naaaaaaah!*
 69. Gyula: *By the way this is the second time that you've mentioned this.*
 70. Alexandros: *Well that we knew of.*
 71. Gyula: *Let me tell you something, I'm gay.*
 72. John: *I got a phone call from my best buddy who's at Imperial. He said that today.*
 73. *It's bar night at Imperial, and from what I grasped it is almost the same event as*
 74. *our dinner. They throw a bar night, you know, they hang around at a bar, last year*
 75. *I've attended their first bar night. Next Tuesday on the 20th- they are planning of*
 76. *organising, no they are not planning it, they are having a party at a Club, and he's*
 77. *asked me if we would like to join as HEI. So, I talked to him but then Gyula said*
 78. *that we were thinking of organsing something of our own on next Tuesday.*
 79. Alexandros: *We were thinking [not for next Tuesday] but [Tuesday] Friday*
 80. *So I don't really know*
 81. Gyula: *[not for next Tuesday]*
 82. John: *[Okay]. The thing is*
 83. *I was thinking about it and I talked to him aaaaaa*
 84. *That's the Cypriot who gave me a tutorial once.*
 85. Alexandros: *Aa?*
 86. John: *That's the Cypriot who gave me a tutorial once. Last year when she gave us*
 87. *the tutorial she was pregnant, she is a doctor and she works here*
 88. *At the KCH or something. Anyway, so I told them that if we are inviting our*
 89. *Crowd, i.e. if we support your event as HEI, you'll have to*
 90. *Put our name on the tickets =*
 91. Meni: *= yes, yes =*
 92. John: *=and we'll have to call somebody [somebody],*
 93. Alexandros: *[yes, for sure]*
 94. John: *I'm assuming it won't be fifty fifty[since they are inviting looaaaaaads]*
 95. Alexandros: *[no, it is more for sure]*

96. *maybe fifty to thirty.*
 97. *John: Well yes.*
 98. *Alexandros: I'm having some of this.*
 99. *John: Have as much as you like.*
 100. *Meni: Carrot cake;*
 101. *John: Mufflin. Have some and stop being annoying..Let Meni have some too.*
 102. *Yes. So I'll tell them to... get....*
 103. *Alexandros: Why don't you tell him to give me a call? I haven't met their*
 104. *President yet.*
 105. *John: What's his name again, I forgot. Ah Lefteris.*
 106. *Alexandros: Lefteris.*
 107. *John: Lefteri, Lefteri, Lefteri. Okay I'll probably seeing him tonight because*
 108. *I'm going to this bar night they're organisin.*
 109. *Alexandros: Okay call him. I was looking for him, to get to know him so that I*
 110. *may introduce myself=*
 111. *John: =Okay. I will.... I think it would be [it is]*
 112. *Alexandros: [that they weren't very organised]*
 113. *John: What;*
 114. *Alexandros: I thought that they weren't very organised.*
 115. *John: My friend I don't really know, I trust Goofy too much my friend, Goofy*
 116. *Well thay might not have voted him for president but he is very good at*
 117. *organising events.*
 118. *Alexandros:No I think he is good, but as I told you the event is on Tuesday*
 119. *and we are having our dinner event on Friday*
 120. *Gyula: What?*
 121. *Meni: Yes*
 122. *Alexandros: when are we sending the e-mail?*
 123. *Gyula: ahahaha. Come on.*
 124. *Alexandros: But we can do it for them=*
 125. *John: = Let me tell him to =*
 126. *Alexandros: =No no [there is no problem, just find out]*
 127. *Gyula: [but are they going to coordinate]*
 128. *Alexandros: and we will talk with the others, I will send an*
 129. *e-mail to everyone tonight, and we will see what you guys think.*
 130. *John: Mate, the point is, as I realised, that they did not make arrangements for a*
 131. *venue yet*
 132. *Alexandros: Well no, they should find it [as in, from today] it is late, if they have*
 133. *The party in two or three weeks I am in.*
 134. *John: [They said they'll find a place]*
 135. *Well no I don't think they will [find]*
 136. *Gyula: [Advertising and etc?..]*
 137. *John: Well there's that as well. Dude I'll ask them and I'll also tell*
 138. *Lefteris to [to give you a ring]*
 139. *Gyula: [Okay if we had a party] at a club when would it be;*
 140. *Alexandros: We'd do exactly the same thing, It is the only way=*
 141. *Gyula: =Okay*
 142. *Alexandros: It is just that I do not know if we are capable of finding one hundred*
 143. *and fifty people on our own.*
 144. *Gyula: Have you met Thanos and George?*
 145. *Alexandros: Well Thanos I know, and George too*

146. Gyula: *[yes it's just] that they wanted –*
 147. Alexandros: *[But-] =*
 148. Gyula: *=they are having a mini gathering at the Waterfront on Friday- like we*
 149. *did, this Friday =*
 150. Alexandros: *=Okay let's see how many people will attend this=*
 151. Gyula: *=and they told me that we could go too, and so I said that they should*
 152. *come too*
 153. Alexandros: *I don't think they are coming, I don't think they are [veeeery okay]*
 154. Gyula: *[And I also want*
 155. *to see] whether what they are planning is going to work out. From what I*
 156. *understood they find it a bit hard to contact people and if I engage with them then*
 157. *how successful could we be.*
 158. John: *Me; Hahahahaha*
 159. Alexandros: *at 10:20 every day I might slap you, I'll even slap you now*
 160. John: *My friend I was too 'charged' last night=*
 161. Alexandros: *Charged?*
 162. John: *No, seriously I was very charged=*
 163. Gyula: *= emotionally?=*
 164. John: *=oh no, no I had, I had [I've had various conversations] ↑I've had*
 165. *conversations, mate.*
 166. Alexandros: *[I don't get it]*
 167. John: *[I was too stressed-] I smoked two pakketta (packs) of cigarettes.*
 168. Alexandros: *[And why would I care] Two packs?*
 169. *Are you crazy?*
 170. Gyula: *What? 40?*
 171. John: *But I usually smoke half a pakketto (pack) to one, i.e. three quarters of the*
 172. *pakketto (pack).*
 173. Meni: *Where does he smoke the paketta (packs)?*
 174. Gyula: *Paketta (packs), Ha, ha, ha.*
 175. John: *Ha, ha, ha two baguette. Dude!*
 176. Alexandros: *Two [are you crazy?]*
 177. John: *[What the-], I am serious I smoked two pakketta (packs)*
 178. Alexandros: *So what do you do, you idiot, do you smoke two by two each time?*
 179. John: *Ha, ha, ha.*

Appendix G2

Annotation of Close-knit group Recording A

Annotation of a recording of the Cypriot Society's Committee meeting conducted on the 11th of March 2009.

The annotation describes the first 20 minutes of the 2 hour recording.

The participants are Andreas (Vice President), Michael (Sports events), Adrianne (PR and events officer), Alexandros (Chair), Eliza (Treasurer) and Melis (Vice President)

Minutes	Notes
0.00-2.00min	Andreas, Adrianne, Eliza and Michael talk about arranging a location for a dinner arrangement and a possible price settlement. Alexandros wonders about the possible date that the dinner should take place. Adrianne argues that they should arrange this as an end of term meeting. Andreas disputes her idea but Eliza supports her. Adrianne explains her line of reasoning.
2.00-4.00min	There is some joking around and the discussion returns on the subject of whether the dinner should be arranged as a society event. Adrianne and Eliza argue that it should be arranged as a society event on the 27 th of March, as the term ends, the exam period will begin and then most people will return home. Andreas agrees with their way of thinking and urges Alexandros to send an e-mail. Alexandros agrees. There is some joking around.
4.00-6.00min	Alexandros begins a discussion about his contact with another Cypriot Society and informs the members about a charity event organized by the other society. Andreas, Adrianne, Eliza and Alexandros talk about supporting the society supporting the other Society. They decide that the e-mail involving information about the charity that the other Society has circulated should be forwarded to the members of the society. Someone talks on the phone. Alexandros says that he will send an e-mail about the event.
6.00-8.00min	Andreas and Alexandros talk about the possible price of tickets in attending the event and how the money raised from the tickets will go in charity. Andreas sums up that two e-mails must be sent to the members according to what has been agreed upon so far.
8.00-10.00min	Alexandros confirms that two e-mails need to be sent to the members. Andreas asks Savvas whether he has saved templates for dinner invitations from last year. Alexandros confirms. Alexandros talks with Michael about the Intersociety Futsal Match. Eliza interferes by mentioning that a female member wanted to participate in a previous futsal match.

10.00-12.00min	Michael explains why she could not participate by saying that the student union does not allow females to play in leagues with male teams.
12.00-14.00 min	Alexandros and Michael talk about the arrangement of a sports event. Michael asks whether they should arrange for a football match or volleyball. Adrianne says that both sound good. Eliza says that volleyball sounds as a good idea. Alexandros suggests a possible date for the event. Eliza, Adrianne and Michael express worries about members not being able to come as the exams are coming up and they will be studying.
14.00-16.00min	Alexandros urges Michael to search for available courts and get information for locations and prices. Michael agrees. Eliza offers to visit a football court near her halls and get information. There is discussion about the Student Union elections. Andreas talks about supporting a friend who is running for President. Melis asks Andreas details about that person and whether he has a chance of winning. Alexandros agrees to send an e-mail to the members about election information and about supporting that person.
16.00-18.00min	Alexandros opens the discussion about the elections within the Society. Andreas, Alexandros and Eliza talk about sending an e-mail with information about the elections. Eliza, Adrianne, Alexandros and Andreas talk about which members of the Society might be interested for a position in the Committee.
18.00-20.00min	Eliza, Adrianne and Alexandros make suggestions about reformulating some of the positions within the Committee, about adding or removing positions (e.g. PR Events to stay as such and Publicity Officer to be added, remove the 2 nd position of Fresher's Director.
20.00-.....

Appendix G3

Close-knit group Recording C

Participants: Valentina (researcher), Eliza (former committee member) and Adrienne (Society's 2009/10 Vice President).

Description: The three girls met up for an afternoon coffee at Eliza's halls of residence in late April 2010. Their discussion mainly revolved around gossip about the 'Charlies', exams and teasing with regards to varieties in each others speech due to regional differences. The discussion below follows Eliza's question of whether anyone has seen Georgiana lately.

1. Adrienne: Εν συναναστρέφεται με τζιέινες τες εγγλεζοπουτούτες τες
2. wannabe =
3. Eliza: =α τες τσιαρλούες μας;
4. Adrienne: τες τσιαρλούδες που θέλουν να μπηχτούν παντού τσαι θυμηθήκαν
5. οτι εν Κυπραίες;
6. Eliza: Εν ηξέρω, εν νομίζω, Εδεν είναι της κλάσης της οι τσιαρλούες. Τούτες
7. οι ούλλες, η Eugene που ξαφνικά έγινε Ευγενία παρεπιπτώντος άλλο
8. σπουδαίο =
9. Valentina: =Τι εννοείς; =
10. Eliza: =Δρώμενο. Ρε κουμπάρε η κοπελλούα, ντάξει εγώ εν την ηξέρω αλλά
11. ήταν μεστο-
12. Valentina: Συγγνώμη, εν τούτη που έβαλε να μπει μέσ'το committee τωρά;
13. Eliza: Μπράβο.
14. Valentina: Ναι
15. Eliza: Εμπήκε.
16. Valentina: Ε, εν την θέλουμε;
17. Eliza: Εν ηξέρω.
18. Adrienne: Εννεν τούτη. Τούτη που σκέφτεσαι εσύ εν άλλη.
19. Valentina: Α.
20. Adrienne: Εν φίλη τους τούτη που 'βαλε να μπει committee. Ηη που ήταν με
21. την Chrissie
22. Eliza: Ναι αλλά νομίζω έβαλε τζιαι θέλει να μπει ας πούμε.
23. Adrienne: Ναι, ναι τζιαι τούτη
24. Valentina: Ναι
25. Eliza: Τέλοσπάντων, anyway τούτη απ'οτι μου είπεν η Chrissie επειδή ήταν
26. μέσ'την χρονιά τους, εε ας πούμεν έσιει εφτά χρόνια μέσ'το English
27. School το όνομα της ήταν Eugene.
28. Valentina: Hm, hm
29. Eliza: Εννοω εν ηξέρω ποιος γονιός εν British ξέρω 'γω whatever τζιαι εν η
30. Eugene τζιαι ούλλος ο κόσμος ξέρει τη Eugene, τζιαι έρκεται η Chrissie

Translation

7. *Adrienne: Doesn't she socialize with those English something, the wannabe =*
8. *Eliza: = oh, our Charlies?*
9. *Adrienne: The Charlies that want to be involved in everything and they have*
10. *now remembered they are Cypriot?*
11. *Eliza: I don't know, I don't think so. The Charlies are not good enough for he,*
12. *them all, Eugene who all of sudden become Evgenia by the way, another*
13. *important =*
14. *Valentina: =What are you saying? =*
15. *Eliza: = update.*
16. *Eliza: =to add on the list. Well mate, this girl, well I don't really know her but*
17. *she used to go-*
18. *Valentina: Excuse me, isn't she the one who is running for the committee*
19. *elections?*
20. *Eliza: Bravo.*
21. *Valentina: Yes*
22. *Eliza: She was elected.*
23. *Valentina: And we don't really want her as part of the committee?*
24. *Eliza: Don't know.*
25. *Andriane: It's not her. The one you have in mind, is a different girl.*
26. *Valentina: Oh.*
27. *Adrienne: The one that's running for the committee is their friend. Thee one*
28. *that was against Chrissie*
29. *Eliza: Yes, but I thought she is running too and she wants to join it badly.*
30. *Adrienne: Yes she is.*
31. *Valentina: Yes*
32. *Eliza: Anyhow, anyway by what I was told from Chrissie, since they come*
33. *from the same school year, well they were together for seven years at the*
34. *English School and at that time here name was Eugene.*
35. *Valentina: Hm, hm*
36. *Eliza: I mean, I don't really know whom of the parents is British or whatever*
37. *but she is Eugene and everybody knows her as Eugene, and the other thing*
38. *Chrissie showed up saying 'you wont believe it but Eugene has turned into*
39. *Evgenia'. I was like: 'what do you mean exactly?' And she said that basically*
40. *since the fFirst year she has joined the HEI she desperately wanted to get*
41. *involved with the Cypriot Society, community etc, and so she has suddenly*
42. *turned into Eugenia.*
43. *Valentina: Well at least can this one communicate or is she like to the other*
44. *one?*
45. *Eliza: Well no [this one can communicate, supposedly]*
46. *Valentina: [Oh my god, isn't she the one-]*
47. *Eliza: But she went to the English School so her Greek should be good. And*
48. *what's even more shocking is that while she was in Cyprus, at the English*

49. School she didn't even say a word in Greek=
50. Adrianne: = So, basically, wherever she is she just wants to behave as a
51. foreigner
52. Eliza: Yes she would not utter a single Greek word, and she would always
53. speak in English and 'you know my parents are English' and she spoke to
54. everyone in English and she was Eugene. And suddenly since the day she
55. came, since year one that both her and her friends wanted to join the
56. committee along with the rest of the Charlies that we don't really know if they
57. speak Greek or not =
58. Valentina: And there's this other girl, a skinny one, that when we've had the
59. Vasilopitta event she refused to have cake because she feared of
60. gaining weight. Who is she anyway?
61. Adrianne: Who?
62. Valentina: A skinny bitch?
63. Eliza: Oh is it Alexandra we are talking ab-;
64. Valentina: Yes, one with curly hair and tiny glasses and she is
65. Just too white;
66. Eliza: [Aaaaaah Alex]
67. Adrianne: [Aaaah so that's Alex?]
68. Eliza: Alexandra.
69. Adrianne: Okay well she is whatever...
70. Eliza: No I think she has roots from Cyprus, maybe her grandma yes
71. her grand-mother is Cypriot =
72. Adrianne: = [I think she is from Limassol] her grand-mother=
73. Valentina: [Yes, but why-]
74. Eliza: =her dad is somehow -she has some roots from Cyprus but she
75. was raised here, I think she is kind of randomer. But I know that-
76. Adrianne: - She doesn't speak Greek but [she understands.]
77. Eliza: [She understands]. I mean when we
78. speak she understands what we say.=
79. Adrianne: =Yes
80. Eliza: Τι λέμε; (What we say) Τι λαλούμε. (What we say)
81. Adrianne: [Hahahah]
82. Valentina: [Hahahah]

Appendix G4

Close-knit group Recording D

Recording of a casual talk interaction between Eliza, Gabriele and Chrissie at the girls' halls of residence. The 3 girls form a close-knit group.

The discussion presented here revolves around the upcoming elections, the 'τσιαρλούες' and the relationship of difference between the Greek Cypriot Society and the Hellenic Society.

1. Eliza: Μωρό ποτέ εν οι εκλογές;
2. Chrissie: Μα κοντεύουν.
3. Eliza: Ε εν να που να γινεί;
4. Chrissie: [Ε εν να που να γινεί-]
5. Gabby: [Έβαλές] τελικά; [Ναι εννε;]
6. Chrissie: [Ε ναι] αφού ήταν να βάλω
7. anyway, αφού ήμουν που πρίν, αφού ήμουν, αφού είμαι τζαι τούντον χρόνο ας
8. πούμεν τζαι [γι' αυτό ήθελα να βάλω]τζαι τούντο χρόνο που να 'ρτει.
9. Eliza: [τζαι ποια ήρτε:ν]
10. Gabby: Τζαι εν να που εν τζείντο νέο όνομα που ακούσαμε;
11. Chrissie: Ξάνθη, εν να που τη λαλούν;
12. Eliza: Ξάνθη ναι. Τζείνη η τσιαρλούα ρε!
13. Chrissie: Ναι αλλά εν ηξέρω πόθεν εφκήκεν τούτη. Έπιασεν με ποιος εν που
14. με είσιεν πιάσει ο Αλέξανδρος τζαι είσιεν μου πεί ότι εν να βάλει τζαι η
15. Ξάνθη τζαι εδιερωτούμουν ποια ενι επειδή εν τη είχα ξαναδεί ποτέ;
16. Eliza: Εν ηξέρω εν τζείνη που μιλά λίον κάπως επειδή apparently she is not
17. που την Κύπρο;
18. Chrissie: [Ε μα καμιά εν]
19. Eliza: [Εννοώ εν] ηξέρω εν γεννημένη [δαμέ.
20. Chrissie: [Ενώ οι άλλες εν που την Κύπρο
21. ρε μάνα μου;
22. Eliza: Ποια έννεν που την Κύπρο;
23. Chrissie: Η μόνη π:ου που εγεννή- ούλλες ε:ν ούλλες εγεννηθήκαν δαμέσα
24. Gabby: εν τσια/τ/λούες.
25. Chrissie: Η μόνη που ξέρω που επήεν πίσω Κύπρο εν η Eugene, που
26. [εγεννήθηκε τζαι-
27. Gabby: [Τι καμνει η Eugene;
28. Eliza: [Ντάξει ρε η Eugene ε εντάξει ήταν English School, τζαι πές ντάξει
29. τζαι το attitude του είμαι εγγλέζα
30. Chrissie: Εν τω μεταξύ μιλούσεν μου η Eugene τζαι ελαλούσεν μου ότι στην
31. Κύπρο λαλούμεν την τσιαρλούα τζαι στην Αγγλία περιπαίζουν την ταχ:α
32. Κυπραίαν ας πούμεν
33. Eliza: Εννοείς περιπαίζουν την οι [τσιαρλούες] in their own [party] τέλος
34. πάντων [ότι;
35. Chrissie: [Ναι] [ναι]
36. Gabby: [Γιατί οι άλλες οι τσια- οι άλλες οι τσιαρλούες ήταν δαμέ
37. γεννημένες;=
38. Chrissie: =Ναι, ναι. Μα τζαι η Eugene νομίζω εμεγά- εμεγάλωσε δαμέ απλ:α
39. εε στα δέκα της ξέρω 'γω κάτι =

40. Eliza: = Οι γονείς της Eugene πόθεν έني;
41. Chrissie: Εν που την Κύπρο. Εμιλή- εμιλήσαμε πριν λίο τζαιρό τζαι είσιεν
42. μου εξηγήσει ακριβώς πως [εγ-
43. Eliza: [τότε γιατί μιλά έτσι;
44. Chrissie: Επειδή εμεγάλωσε δαμέ τζαι μετά επήε junior school μόλις ήρτεν
45. Κύπρο τζαι μετά [εκατέληξεν English School.
46. Eliza: [ξέρω τζαι άλλους που επήαν junior school αλλά μιλούν
47. ελληνικά ας πούμε
48. Chrissie: Ναι αλλά σκέφτου ότι εμεγάλωσεν Αγγλία τζαι επήενεν μόνο
49. ελληνικο σχολείο ας [πούμεν μια φορά την βδομάδα]
50. Gabby: [Γιατί εσύ στο English School εμιλούσες] εγγλέζικα; =
51. Chrissie: = οϊ ρε μάνα μου αλλά εν επήα junior school ούτε οι γονιοί μου
52. εμιλούσαν έτσι, εμιλούσαν μου ελληνικά, τους- οι γονείς της =
53. Eliza: = Οι γονείς της εμιλούσαν της Αγγλικά;
54. Chrissie: Νομίζω η μάμα της εμιλούσεν της Αγγλικά. Επειδή τζι' μάμα της
55. εμεγάλωσεν Αγγλία, εν ο παπάς της νομίζω που ήτεν που Κύπρο
56. τζαι ήβρεν την μάμα της.
57. Eliza: Εν ηξέρω πάντως εγω επρόσεξα ότι κάμνει πάρα πολύ code-switching.
58. Chrissie: [Εννοείς –]
59. Eliza: [Τύπου ας πούμεν], ναι τύπου ας πούμεν
60. Chrissie: Αλλάσσει ας πούμεν ρόλους...εννοείς=
61. Eliza: = Ναι =
62. Chrissie: = [εγγλεζοκυπραίους]
63. Eliza: [τζαι οϊ τζέινο που] κάμνουμεν εμείς επειδή είμαστε που το
64. English School. Εννοώ εν ηξέρω.
65. Chrissie: Ε ναι ας πούμεν παραπάνω εν- τζέινο που εν πολλά χτυπητό εν το /r/
66. τους ας πούμεν, που εν να =
67. Eliza: = ναι έσιεις δίκαιο ατε /r/ε /r/ε.
68. Chrissie: Ναι.
69. Gabby: Εμένα πάντως μιλά μου ελληνικά όποτε με θεωρεί, τύπου ελληνικά.
70. Hahaha.
71. Eliza: Τέλος πάντων ο καθένας όπως μπορεί [να εκφράσει την ελληνική]
72. Gabby: [Ρε Gab/r/iele εν να που
73. κάμνεις;]
74. Eliza: Τζαι το λ, Gabriele/e.
75. Chrissie: Ντάξει τζέινη η Euge- αναλόγως η Eugene εν που τεσ καλές
76. Gabby: [Ναι αλλά
77. Eliza: [Anyway εν εσυναναστραφηκα ιδιαίτερα με τεσ άλλες για να ξέρω,
78. επειδή they tend to stick with [each other
79. Chrissie: [εν η μόνη, εν η μόνη που- μα τζαι έβαλεν τζαι
80. η Eugene γι:α κάτι, εν έβαλε νομίζω;
81. Eliza: Αα έσιεις δίκαιο εν να που 'ναι; Εν Freshers Director που ενι;
82. Chrissie: Εν Freshers που 'βαλε, όξα; Ναι μπορεί. Ναι ναι.
83. Eliza: Εν τω μεταξύ είδετε μεσ' το γράμμα, θυμάσαι το e-mail που έστειλεν η-
84. Gabby: Hah το γ/r/αμμα. Hahahah
85. Eliza: Χαίρομαι που το απολαμβάνεις να μιμείσαι την τσια/r/λούα. Ε:μ η
86. τζέινο γράμμα που ετσείλαν στα emails =
87. Chrissie: =Ναι=
88. Eliza: =Που έστειλεν η Ξάνθη, εν τζέινη που λαλεί κάτι ότι είμαι τσιάρλιστα
89. so εν =

90. Chrissie: =Ναι ότι μπορεί να επικοινωνήσει με τους άλλους τσιά/r/λhes της
 91. Αγγλίας [τάχα]
 92. Gabby: [Alright]
 93. Eliza: Δηλαδή δηλώνει το που μόνη της.
 94. Chrissie:Ναι.
 95. Gabby: Τζαι τη Ξάνθη προφέρει το όνομα της καλά;
 96. Eliza: [Γιατί το ξ εν το λαλούν;]
 97. Chrissie: [Ρε δεν την ξέρω]
 98. Gabby: Εν ηξέρω εν έτσ:ι Ξάνθη, [ξ.]
 99. Chrissie: Πάντως δεν την είδα [ποττέ] τζαι εμπήκα τζαι ετσιάκκαρα που το
 100. Facebook [για να δω την φάτσα της]
 101. Eliza: [Τζαι ‘γω εκαμα την Facebook stalk]
 102. Chrissie: Απλ:ά
 103. Eliza: Κάμνει τζαι τούτη law μαζί με τους υπόλοιπους;
 104. Chrissie: Ναι, ναι, ναι εν μεσ’ τζειν’ [την συναπαρτσία]
 105. Gabby: [γιατί εν ούλλοι]οι τσιάρλhes μεσ’ το
 106. law;
 107. Chrissie: Επειδή ε κατέχουν το αγγλικό προφανώς, ξερω ‘γω;
 108. Eliza: Εν τω μεταξύ όντως εν ούλλες =
 109. Gabby: = Τζαι τι ας πούμε τωρά τούτες ούλλες εν να ψηφίσουν τη:ν =
 110. Chrissie: =Ε ναι =
 111. Gabby: = [Ξάνθη;]
 112. Chrissie: [Εν τούτ-] εν τούτο που διερωτούμαι εγώ, ότι αν- αν κλικκώσουν
 113. τζείνες [όπως] κλικκώνουμεν τζαι ‘μείς βέβαια, εννοώ =
 114. Eliza: [Ναι]
 115. Eliza: = [Ε ‘ντάξει μα κοίτα] =
 116. Gabby: = [Ε ντ:α μα πώς να] πα’ να ψηφίσω την ά↑γνωστη την
 117. τσιά↑ρλhisσα;
 118. Eliza: Ε ενεν τούτο απλά που τη στιγμή που κατονομάζεις που μόνη σου
 119. τον εαυτό σου τσιάρλhisσα τζαι στέλνεις ένα email που πάει σε ούλλο το
 120. Cypriot Society, σε ούλλα τα members του Cypriot Society τζαι λαλείς είμαι
 121. τσιάρλhisσα so μπορώ να επικοινωνήσω καλλύττερα με τους υπόλοιπους
 122. τσιάρλhes ας πούμε =
 123. Chrissie:= Εν επειδή νοιώθουν ότι εν επικοινωνούμεν μαζί τους, ας πούμεν
 124. ότι τάχα νοιώθουν left out =
 125. Gabby: = Ε γιατί θέλουν να μούν σε τούντο Society που την στιγμήν που
 126. νοιώθουν οτ:ι =
 127. Chrissie: =Ε για να μπορέσουν να γίνουν τζαι τζείνοι part of it, εν ηξέ↑ρω,
 128. εν ηξέρω. Αλλά ας πούμεν σκέφτου να- σκέφτου να μιλήσουν – ε πέ μου
 129. ήνταλως εν να συζητήσουν με έναν καλαμαρά π.χ.; Ήνταλως εν να συνεν-
 130. εννοώ [στα ελληνικά]

131. Chrissie: Ντάξει εγώ να σου πώ που την μια
 132. συμφωνώ να έχουμε θκυό Societies. Εννοώ εν είμαστεν ε ε εν
 133. Σίουρα νοιώθω Ελληνίδα αλλά είμαι Ελληνοκύ↑πρια =
 134. Eliza: = Πολλά μεγάλο θέμα τούτο τζαι απασχολεί με currently, in my
 135. current αλλά anyway. Το point μου ενι όμως ότι εξαρτάται πως κάμνεις
 136. define to identity σου εσυ; Ποιόν πιστεύεις ότι εν το national identity σου.

137. Πιστεύεις ότι το nationa- έπρεπε να ε- το identity σου εν national Cypriot
 138. identity ή εν national Greek identity;
 139. Chrissie: Ε- μμ. =
 140. Eliza: = Τζαι τι- τι- τι εν η διαφορά πρέπει να κάμεις distinguish που- how
 141. You define a nation, how you define a state, how you define a nation-state,
 142. Επειδή nation εν τω έθνος, τζαι μας το έθνος μας εν η Ελλάδα, therefore our
 143. nationality, ts our national identity εν Greek έννεν;
 144. Chrissie: Ναι επειδή obviously μιλούμεν Ελληνικά ας πούμεν, αλλά που την
 145. μια είμαστε ξεχωριστό κράτος. Εννοώ-
 146. Eliza: Πιστεύεις όμως ότι εν τούτος ο λόγος που έγινε ο διαχωρισμός των
 147. Θκυό Societies;
 148. Chrissie: Οϊ μα 'χουμεν τζι άλλες διαφορές πιστεύκω.
 149. Gabby: Φίλε εγω εν νοιώθω ότι πρέπει να υπάρχουν θκυό Societies.
 150. Eliza: Γιατί;
 151. Gabby: Εν νοιώθω οτι: ξεχωρίζει με κάτι που τους Έλληνες ή ξεχωρίζει
 152. τους τζείνους κάτι που μένα
 153. Chrissie: Μα τζείνοι ξέρεις το ότι θεωρούν μας, έσει πάρα πολλούς Έλληνες
 154. Που μας [θεωρούν] παρείσακτους, ή που εν παν τους Κυπραίους;
 155. Gabby:[Εν ηξέρω] Εν ηξέρω, εμέναν ο παπάς μου εν- εννοώ εγω έχω
 156. Ελληνικήν υπηκοότητα. Εν νοιώθω όμως επειδή εμεγάλωσα στην Κύπρο ότι
 157. είμαι Κυπραία μόνο τζαι τούτον ενι.
 158. Eliza: Νοιώθεις affiliated τζαι με την Ελλάδα δηλαδή.=
 159. Gabby: = Ναι: =
 160. Chrissie: = Ναι μα ε- έτσι [εμεγαλώσαμεν τσιολάς]
 161. Gabby: [τζαι χωρίς να ξέρω] συγνώμη τζαι χωρίς να
 162. Ξέρω ούτε πολιτικά ούτε τίποτε εν θα κάτσω να μιλήσω για τες διαφορές, τι
 163. νομίζουν το ένα τζαι το άλλο γιατί απλά εν ηξέρω, ότι δεν ημπορώ να 'χω
 164. άποψη. Αλλά εν ηνοιώθω ότι πρέπει να υπάρχει- θκυό Societies όπως
 165. τζαι να 'σει αλλά που την στιγμή που Greek parties ας πούμεν, τι
 166. σημαίνει; Γιατί να μεν έρχονται τζαι για να μεν πάμε, τζαι να [μεν πάμεν]
 167. ούλλοι μαζί ας πούμε.
 168. Chrissie: [Μα εγω]
 169. Εγώ-
 170. Gabby: Εν καταλάβω γιατί να μεν είμαστε ούλλοι μαζί. =
 171. Chrissie: = Ε εγώ είμαι της άποψης ότι ίσως θα πρέπει να συνεργαζόμαστε
 172. σε: μερικά events αλλά: ε: the goal ας πούμεν πρέπει-
 173. Eliza: Ντάξει συνεργασία ξισυνεργασία τωρά ετις όπως εν τα πράματα έτσι
 174. ενι.
 175. Gabby: Φοάσαι εσύ ότι εν να: εν να παίζει ρόλο τούτη τζαι εν αν σου φάει
 176. την θέση;
 177. Chrissie: Οϊ ε εν ηξέρω, ε εν- βασικά σκέφτομαι αν έσει κανέναν random
 178. που εν εβάλαμεν μεσ' το Society ακόμα αν προλαβαίνουμεν [τωρά
 179. Eliza: [Ε φίλοι που
 180. εχω όμως εν καλαμαράες τζαι εν τούντο πράμα που λαλούμε τωρά, ότι
 181. επειδη έχουν το Greek Society εν θα παν' να γραφτούν μεσ' το Cypriot
 182. Society, αλλά 'νταξει μωρό εγω εν θα ανησυχούσα αν ήμουν στην θέση σου
 183. επειδή έσεις
 184. τους φίλους σου, ήσουν involved τζαι πέρσι στο Society τζαι εν νομίζω,
 185. ειδικά το email που έκαμεν circulate η ίδια για να κάμει support τον εαυτόν
 186. της, να κάμνει ιδιαίτερα support τον εαυτόν της οπόταν end of story νομίζω

187. εν να πάει καλά τζαι 'ντάξει.
188. Chrissie: Ε εν να δείξει: εν θα αγχωθώ τζαι για τούτον τώρα:
189. Eliza: Ε ναι whatever
190. Chrissie: Anyway

Translation

1. Eliza: Kid when are the society elections?
2. Chrissie: Pretty soon.
3. Eliza: So, what's going to happen?
4. Chrissie: [Eh what to do?]
5. Gabby: [So you are running] in the end [Right?]
6. Chrissie: [Yes] I was going to
7. anyway, I was already a member, I was, since I'm here this year too so
8. yes and [this is why I wanted to run] for the coming year.
9. Eliza: [and who's the new one?]
10. Gabby: And who's that new name we've heard is running against you?
11. Chrissie: Xanthi, or whatever it is they call her.
12. Eliza: Xanthi, yes. The Charlie!
13. Chrissie: Yes, but still I am not quite sure where did she come from. I think it was
14. Alexandros who called me and said that Xanthi is running too and I was
15. wondering who she was since I had never seen her before?
16. Eliza: Don't know, is she the one who speaks a bit funny because apparently she
17. is not from Cyprus?
18. Chrissie: [Yes, but noone]
19. Eliza: [I mean I don't] know if she was born [here
20. Chrissy: [Yeah my dear, as if
21. the rest are from Cyprus?
22. Eliza: So who's not from Cyprus?
23. Chrissie: Well the only one who isn't from Cyprus:- all of them a:rent all of them
24. born here?
25. Gabby: They are cha/r/lies.
26. Chrissie: From what I know of the only one who was is Eugene, that [she was
27. born here and-
28. Gabby: [What does
29. Eugene do?
30. Eliza: [Okay well
31. Okay Eugene was at the English School and so okay having the attitude of
32. 'I'm English' is accepted
33. Chrissie: Btw I was chatting with Eugene and she was telling me that in Cyprus
34. we call her a Charlie whereas in England they make fun of her that she
35. is a Cypriot, supposedly
36. Eliza: Oh so you mean that the [charlies] in their own [party] anyway
37. [that;
38. Chrissie: [Yes] [yes]
39. Gabby: [Why are all the other cha- the other charlies born here? =
40. Chrissie: =Yes, yes. But I believe that Eugene was rais- was raised here only in
41. her own I don't know something =
42. Eliza: = Where are Eugene's parents from?
43. Chrissie: They're from Cyprus. We've ta- we've talked a while ago and she
44. had explained to me how exactly things [hap-
45. Eliza: [then why does she talk like that?
46. Chrissie: Because she grew up here and then she went to junior school when
47. she came to Cyprus and [then she ended up to English School

48. Eliza: *[I know other people that went to junior school but*
49. *they do speak Greek*
50. Chrissie: *Yes but think that she grew up in England and only went to Greek*
51. *school [once a week]*
52. Gabriele: *[Why when you were in English School you spoke] English? =*
53. Chrissie: *= no but I never went to junior school and my parents did not talk to me*
54. *like that, they were talking Greek, them- her parents=*
55. Eliza: *= Her parents spoke English with her?*
56. Chrissie: *I think her mum spoke English. Because her mum grew up in*
57. *England I think; it's her dad I think that was from Cyprus, and he*
58. *found her mum.*
59. Eliza: *I don't know I noticed that she code-switches a lot.*
60. Chrissie: *[You mean –]*
61. Eliza: *[Kind of], yeah kind of =*
62. Chrissie: *She switches between roles...you mean=*
63. Eliza: *= Yeah =*
64. Chrissie: *= [English-Cypriots]*
65. Eliza: *[and not that one] we do because we are from English School. I*
66. *mean I don't know.*
67. Chrissie: *Yes and mostly it is- the thing that is most striking is their /r/*
68. *when they =*
69. Eliza: *= yeah you right /ɹ/, /ɹ/.*
70. Chrissie: *Yeah.*
71. Gabriele: *As far as I am concerned she speaks Greek to me whenever she sees*
72. *me, kind of Greek. Hahaha.*
73. Eliza: *Anyway each person [can express their Greek]*
74. Gabriele: *[Gab/ɹ/iele how are you?]*
75. Eliza: *And the l, Gabriele/ɹ/.*
76. Chrissie: *Okay, Euge- considerably Eugene is one of the good ones.*
77. Gabby: *[Yes but...]*
78. Eliza: *[Anyway I didn't mingle with the others so as to know,*
79. *because, they tend to stick with [each other*
80. Chrissie: *[She's the only one, she's the only one*
81. *who- but Eugene applied for a position, isn't that right?*
82. Eliza: *Oh yeah you're right. Is it for the position of the Fresher's Director ?*
83. Chrissie: *Is it for the Fresher's Director position? Yeah that could be. Yeah,*
84. *you are right.*
85. Eliza: *By the way, did you guys see in her letter application? You remember*
86. *the e-mail sent by-*
87. Gabby: *Hah the g/r/amma (letter). Hahahah*
88. Eliza: *I'm glad you enjoy making fun of the Charlie. That letter sent by email=*
89. Chrissie: *=Yeah=*
90. Eliza: *=Sent by Xanthi, she's the one saying something about being a charlie*
91. *so it's =*
92. Chrissie: *= Yeah that she can easily communicate with the rest of the charlies*
93. *of the UK, [supposedly]*
94. Gabby: *[Alright]*
95. Eliza: *So she's stating it herself.*
96. Chrissie: *Yeah.*
97. Gabby: *So can Xanthi pronounce her name correctly?*

98. Eliza: *[Why? Can't they pronounce the x letter?]*
 99. Chrissie: *[I don't know her]*
 100. Gabby: *So, is it pronounced Xanthi? With an [x] ?*
 101. Chrissie: *Anyhow, I've [never] seen her, so I logged into Facebook*
 102. *[to check how she looks]*
 103. Eliza: *[I Facebook stalked her as well]*
 104. Chrissie: *It's just that,*
 105. Eliza: *Is she studying Law with the rest of them?*
 106. Chrissie: *Yeah yeah yeah, she's in [that crowd].*
 107. Gabby: *[Why are all of the Charlies studying Law?*
 108. Chrissie: *Apparently because of their English language skills, anyway I don't*
 109. *really know.*
 110. Eliza: *Indeed every one of them =*
 111. Gabby: *= And now what? Are they all going to vote =*
 112. Chrissie: *=Em yeah =*
 113. Gabby: *= [Xanthi]*
 114. Chrissie: *[It's what-] It's what I've been wondering. If - all of them get*
 115. *together, [something] we do as well of course, I mean =*
 116. Eliza: *[Yeah]*
 117. Eliza: *= [Ok, but look] =*
 118. Gabby: *= [How can I] can I vote a charlie I don't even know?*
 119. Eliza: *It's not only that. From the minute you call yourself a charlie and send*
 120. *an e-mail to all the members of the Cypriot Society telling them so in*
 121. *order to prove that you can communicate with the rest of the charlies, I*
 122. *mean, come on=*
 123. Chrissie: *= It's because they believe the rest of us don't, and they feel left*
 124. *out=*
 125. Gabby: *= Why do they want to get into this Society since they feel tha:t =*
 126. Chrissie: *= So they can be part of it, I don't know ↑w, I don't know. But think-*
 127. *think of when they talk – how are they going to communicate with a kalamara*
 128. *(Greek person) for exsmple?*
 129. *How are they going to commu-*
 130. *I mean in (Greek)*
131. Chrissie: *On the one hand I kind of agree having two societies.*
 132. *I mean we are not e not– surely I feel Greek but I am*
 133. *Greek ↑Cypriot =*
 134. Eliza: *= This is a major issue which currently troubles me, in my current*
 135. *but anyway. My point is though that it depends how you define you own*
 136. *identity; It's what you think your national identity is.*
 137. *Do you think that your nationa- had to be- is your identity a national*
 138. *Cypriot identity or national Greek identity;*
 139. Chrissie: *E- em. =*
 140. Eliza: *= And what-what-what the difference is you have distinguish from – how*
 141. *you define a nation, how you define a state, how you define a nation state,*
 142. *because nation is ethnos, and our ehtnos éθνος is Greece, therefore our*
 143. *nationality, t! our national identity is Greek right;*
 144. Chrissie: *Yeah because obviously we speak Greek, but on the other hand we are*
 145. *a separate nation-state. I mean-*

146. Eliza: *Do you think though that this is the only reason that there is this*
 147. *Differentiation between the two Societies?*
 148. Chrissie: *No we have more differences I think*
 149. Gabriele: *Mate I don't think there should be two Societies.*
 150. Eliza: *Why?*
 151. Gabriele: *I don't feel tha:t there is something distinguishes me form the Greeks*
 152. *or*
 153. *that something distinguishes them from me.*
 154. Chrissie: *But you know that they think of us as, there are a lot of Greeks*
 155. *that [think of us] as or they don't like Cypriots*
 156. Gabriele: *[I don't know]*
 157. *I don't know, my dad is from- I mean I have Greek citizenship. I don't*
 158. *feel though that because I was raised in Cyprus that I am just Cypriot*
 159. *and that's it.*
 160. Eliza: *You feel affiliated with Greece as well then.=*
 161. Gabriele: *= Yes: =*
 162. Chrissie: *= Yes but t- this is how [we were raised as well*
 163. Gabby: *[and without knowing] I'm sorry but without*
 164. *knowing neither politics nor anything I won't sit and chat about the differences,*
 165. *what they think of this or that because I simply do not know and can't express*
 166. *an opinion. But I don't think there should be two Societies- anyhow from the*
 167. *very moment that we have two Greek parties, what does that mean? Why can't*
 168. *they come so that we may go and [can't we go] can't we all go.*
 169. Chrissie: *[But I] I-*
 170. Gabby: *I can't understand why can't we all be together =*
 171. Chrissie: *= Well, I believe that maybe we should all cooperate for some*
 172. *events: but: eh: the goal is let's say we should-*
 173. Eliza: *Okay cooperation, non cooperation the way things are we need to take*
 174. *It from there.*
 175. Gabriele: *Are you afraid that she: might play her part and win the*
 176. *elections?*
 177. Chrissie: *No I don't know, eh I don't – Basically I was wondering whether*
 178. *there are any randomers that we didn't ask to join the Society whether we can*
 179. *ask them[now*
 180. Eliza: *[Well some friends of mine are kalamaraes (greek people) and it's*
 181. *what we were talking about now that maybe because they have the Greek*
 182. *Society they won't join the Cypriot Society, but okay kid I wouldn't worry if I*
 183. *were you because you have plenty of friends and you were involved in the*
 184. *Society last year too and I don't think that, especially after the email she has*
 185. *circulated to support herself, really does support herself therefore end of story*
 186. *and if she goes well, then okay*
 187. Chrissie: *We'll see. Can't be bothered to worry for this too, now:*
 188. Eliza: *Yeah, whatever*
 189. Chrissie: *Anyway*

Appendix G5

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS:

(h) within-speech aspiration, possibly laughter

{ } inaudible speech

[] Overlapping talk

= latching between turns of different speakers

: prolonging of the prior sound or syllable.

- single dash indicates a cutoff in speech

h. Oubreathing/Exhalation

↑ Rising intonation

... Pause of 0.5 second or more

(.) pause of less than 0.5 second

hah Laughter